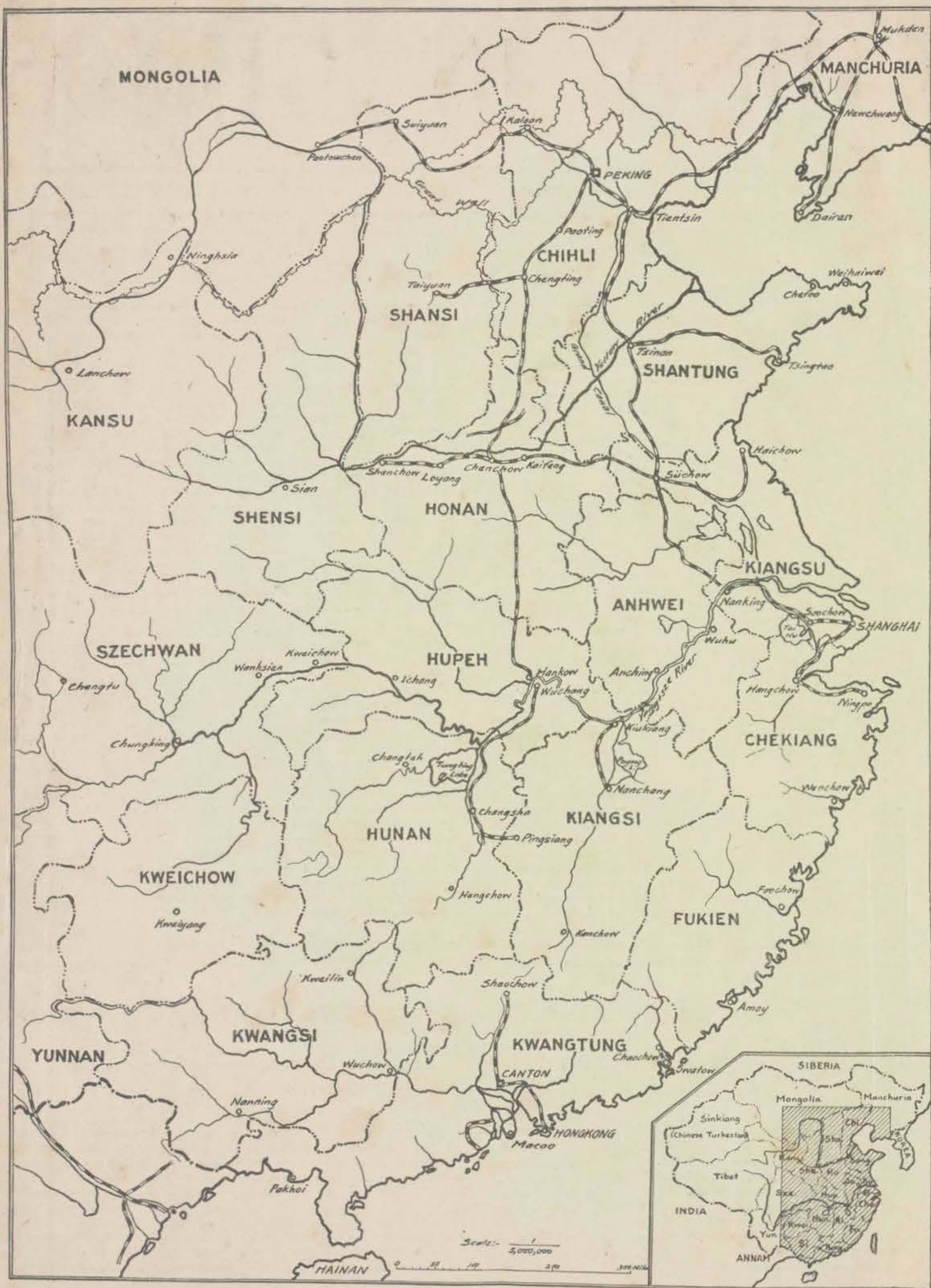


China in Chaos

A Brief Outline of the Foreign Concessions, with Examples of China's Disruption and Failure to Observe Her Obligations due to Civil War, Bolshevist Propaganda and Mob Law.



"To-day China is seething and it is our duty to keep the pot boiling."—LENIN.



SKETCH MAP OF CHINA, CONTAINING THE PRINCIPAL NAMES OF PROVINCES AND CITIES MENTIONED IN THE VARIOUS ARTICLES

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CHINA IN CHAOS

A Survey of Recent Events, Published by the North-China Daily News & Herald, Ltd., Shanghai

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OUR MESSAGE

AN attempt is here made to present a fairly complete picture of spectacular events in Hankow, Kiukiang and other Yangtze Valley centres, to illustrate the quality of "Nationalism" in China, to demonstrate that "Nationalism" is not a spontaneous Chinese patriotic movement but is a new form of Boxerism with much Russian inspiration behind it, and to point out the bitter fruits of British and other diplomatic efforts to conciliate this unreasoning anti-foreign spirit. Some space is given to the illustration of the soldier and bandit curse which has reduced China to such a low level economically that "Nationalism" has proved an appealing novelty and diversion to the distracted people.

A complete survey of the assaults upon the foreigner's position in China, which have been perpetrated during recent months, it has not been possible to crowd into the limited space available in this Supplement. Such subjects as China's repudiation of financial obligations, her orgy of illegal taxation, attempts to eliminate foreign administrators from the Posts and Customs, the dismissal of Sir Francis Aglen, Inspector-General of Customs, for refusing to collect an illegal surtax, the unilateral denunciation of the Belgian treaty, mal-administration of justice, interference with the judiciary and the disappointing character of the provisional court in Shanghai, have had to be omitted altogether.

Under the general heading "Aftermath of the Agreement", a few news clippings of events subsequent to the signing of the Chen-O'Malley agreement at Hankow, February 19, are printed to make clear the vicious reaction to this very conciliatory document. Otherwise all of the events recorded in this publication fall within a period of six months, beginning with the Cantonese capture of the Hankow area in the first few days of September, 1926.

In the editorial introduction the prevailing attitude of the foreigner resident in China towards this situation is presented and an outline history and description of the Concessions and Settlements is given for the benefit of our friends abroad who do not clearly understand what "Concessions" are and how they came into being. The growth of Soviet Russian influence in various Chinese political and military factions ought to be the subject of a very massive volume, if it were to be adequately dealt with, and the attempt made here to give a sketch of Red

endeavour in China is confessedly inadequate, the inevitable result of trying to crowd the maximum of material into a minimum space.

Any such publication as this Supplement must have a moral to convey to the world, and the foreigners in the Orient do have a very definite appeal to make to the Occident. The Chinese people, whose welfare is much more important to the world than that of the few thousand diplomats, merchants and missionaries living among them, must be saved from themselves, rescued from their frenzied and unscrupulous military tyrants, Red agitators and professional exploiters. All they ask is a little peace and a chance to work unmolested. Upon the cost of the trifling military effort needed to police China, the Chinese people would, through their tireless industry, immediately yield an enormous return. They cannot ask for intervention and probably could not be openly grateful for it, but in their inarticulate way, with their passion for productive toil, they would soon prove their appreciation of peace and order. Our appeal then is for such an international effort as will give the Chinese people relief from persecution and a chance to work.

Incidental to this appeal is our vigorous assertion that a settlement of China's troubles by negotiation is impossible. Whoever calls for negotiations calls forward self-appointed representatives who are the notorious wreckers and looters of this wretched land, while immediately behind them stand the Bolshevik agitators whose business it is to insist that there shall be no reasonable solution of any Chinese problem. The principal self-appointed leaders of the present day include a British subject, a native of the island of Trinidad, who has forfeited his right to British protection; a commander-in-chief who has standing against him in the police records of Shanghai charges for murder and armed robbery; a dictator who is an ex-bandit; and a war-lord who is notorious for his immoral and profligate conduct, and who is still wanted for a murder perpetrated many years ago in Dairen. It would be next to impossible to bring forward a Chinese negotiator now against whom there is not some criminal charge. Evil times are bringing the vilest elements to the surface in China, and whoever would "negotiate" must deal with exalted rogues, the worst enemies of the Chinese people.

China's Present-Day Problems from the Foreign Viewpoint

What "Nationalism" Really Means, and Why the Foreigner Does Not Support It.—A Brief History and Description of the Major Foreign Communities in China.

PART I.

The whole history of foreign relations with the Chinese Governments of various epochs is a sad record of stupid and costly errors, founded always upon the most obstinate refusal in the Occident to understand the real nature of the diplomatic points at issue, by statesmen wholly ignorant of the character and traditions of the Chinese governing classes, and upon a blind indifference to all the expensive lessons of the past.

All the wars which the great commercial Powers have reluctantly waged in China, at no little cost to themselves and the trade interests

of both the Occidental and the Chinese peoples, have been the culminations of a long series of diplomatic mistakes made in direct opposition to the consensus of opinion among sane and experienced foreign residents in China. There seems to be no country which looks so different from the inside as from the outside; no country about which the considered opinions of those on the spot, whether they be Ministers, Consuls, merchants, missionaries or nondescripts, are so hard for the folk at Home to grasp and interpret correctly.

The purpose of this publication is to set forth, in news clippings for the most part, an

accurate sketch of the situation as it really exists in China, an appraisal of the crisis towards which the policy of Great Britain and the other major Powers seems to be leading us, in the hope that where arguments have failed, illustrative facts in cold type may help to some degree in bringing intelligent public opinion more in line with sober opinion in this country.

Quite apart from really malicious propaganda emanating from anti-British, anti-Christian and anti-foreign sources, Great Britain and the Occident generally are always saturated with misinformation about China that is simply grotesque and with wrong inter-

pretations of the significance of events. This was true in 1842, during the so-called Opium War; in 1858, during the so-called Arrow War; throughout the great Taiping Rebellion; throughout the Boxer rising of 1900; throughout the Revolution of 1911 and the events subsequent to it; and it has been particularly true of the state of public opinion during every crisis in the past few years, when increasing chaos in China, fostered and exploited by the native politicians and militarists on the one hand, and by Soviet Russia on the other hand, have inconvenienced foreigners or endangered legitimate foreign interests. The British and American publics particularly have shown at every critical juncture a stronger inclination to accept the interpretations of news made by mendacious Chinese apologists for the anarchy in their country, or by Moscow's propagandists, than the most responsible statements from their own diplomatic agents or their own nationals in China. The disheartening feature of this is that since plenipotentiaries no longer make policies according to their own experience and judgment, but execute policies made at Home; and since Governments in their foreign policy are no longer free to act on the trustworthy information that comes to them, but must perforce reflect public opinion, it is increasingly futile to address either facts or opinions to Governments while public opinion is being shaped by thoroughly hostile interests. This, then, is an isolated attempt to reach at least a small proportion of the folk at Home who really shape policy—"the general public"—with sample pictures of the situation as it is seen and understood in this country.

To review the whole history of China's troubles and of the various manifestations of Chinese anti-foreignism, always more intense in chaotic times under gross native misrule, would require a work of encyclopaedic proportions. It has indeed been found impossible to carry the news record of events and the mistaken diplomatic reactions to them as far back as the spectacular "May 30th affair," over a period of less than two years; so all thought of presenting a complete record of the development of what is called "Nationalism" by its Chinese and Russian sponsors has been abandoned for a survey of the six months prior to the signing of the Hankow Agreement, beginning with the occupation of Hankow by the victorious southern armies under the general command of General Chiang Kai-shek and under the advice of the Soviet General Galen and his large staff.

The Quality of Nationalism

"Nationalism" in China is not synonymous with what is conceived of as patriotism in the West, so the very use of the word is misleading propaganda. "Nationalism" is not born of pride in a fine tradition of achievement nor of a desire to perpetuate a national tradition of superior ability, but is the offspring of a knowledge of failure, a fear of greater failures in the future and a kind of bitter grudge against all the world that is witness to it. It is what a certain school of modern psychologists would call the "inferiority complex."

The spirit of this "nationalism" was originally imported by foreign trained students, who returned from abroad with a sincere desire to make all China trade old lamps for new ones, who have since despaired of turning their war-torn and demoralized country into a respectable member of the family of nations, and who would like to put the responsibility for what they recognize as a deplorable muddle upon some force outside China. They resent the fact that the foreigner, who employs none of the methods of their own unscrupulous exploiters and tyrants and who is an unassimilable alien, should be able to make more of Chinese material than any Chinese can, should prosper by virtue of his treaty immunity from official persecution, should in hundreds of cases live among the wretched Chinese people and yet share none of their miseries. But they resent

more still that the aloof alien should be a witness to their failures and shames. They consider it a loss of national prestige and feel this loss more and more keenly and therefore grow more and more resentful of the presence of the privileged foreigner, as China demonstrates more clearly from year to year her inability to adjust her own affairs. The highest aspirations of the "nationalist" are therefore to eject the foreigner or to reduce him to a status, under new treaties and understandings, in which he will be subjected to all the tyrannies, impositions and cruelties that hamper the Chinese people. Then the distinction in China between foreign efficiency and native ineptitude can be broken down and China can go to ruin in her own way without apparent loss of national dignity. These feelings and "aspirations," with which statesmen abroad profess to be so sympathetic, constitute the original impetus behind the "Nationalist Movement."

It will be seen readily enough that while the inspiration behind this movement differs materially from that behind the Boxer movement, the objectives are the same—the expulsion or humiliation of the alien. Among a timid, cautious people like the Chinese such feelings might be nursed for generations without coming to the surface, except in isolated incidents, so when there is such an outbreak of virulent anti-foreignism as is now sweeping over China, one must always look for a source of courage. In 1900 the Boxers got the courage to express themselves from a few Viceroys first and then from the Imperial Court. Their mode of procedure was also endorsed by the Court. In this epoch, however, the courage and the methods as well—not to mention munitions, money and expert leadership—have come from the Soviet Government, or, in the matter of propaganda, from the Third International.

Soviet Purpose and Practice

Russia's policy in China is to exploit anti-foreignism, under the guise of "nationalism," and thereby to create a state of affairs in China which will at once ruin all foreign trade with this country and make residence impossible except for those willing to live under dangerous, humiliating and unprofitable conditions. The ulterior motives are (1) an increase in unemployment in highly industrialized Occidental countries and in Japan, making them more fertile fields for communistic endeavour; and (2) untrammelled opportunity for a revived Russian Imperialism in Mongolia, Manchuria, Chinese Turkestan and northwest China—in Red parlance, the "New Manchuria." China is confessedly an unfertile field for the spread of theoretical communism, so the conversion of the masses is not desired; but chaos is to be promoted by the encouragement of "Nationalism." The subversion of teachers, students and discontented labourers, together with the organization of the purchasable, semi-criminal riff-raff, has been the first method of Soviet approach in China. The second has been the purchase of militarists, in North and South, through unlimited supplies of money, munitions, military equipment, propaganda material and expert trainers and organizers.

In this fashion a hold was got upon Feng Yü-hsiang, the now notorious "Christian General," his army and his territories in the North, and upon Dr. Sun Yat-sen, his "Government" and his military following in the South. Strikes, boycotts, anti-foreign demonstrations and deliberate violations of foreign treaty rights have followed the forces under Soviet direction into every district which they have invaded and have subsided in every area within which their Chinese agents have been defeated or discredited, which is in itself the most eloquent comment upon the spontaneity of the "anti-Imperialistic" campaign.

The welfare of China is nowhere sought by the Russian agents, because trade is paralyzed, economic life disrupted, shops and factories are taxed out of existence, communications cease and the population is terrorized by

something resembling closely the Russian Cheka. Unless the absorption of China into the U.S.S.R. is the ultimate objective, the only apparent end, as Lenin said, is to "keep the pot boiling," so that all foreign checks upon China's downward course may be removed, while Chinese and foreign trade interests and investments are engulfed in Red ruin. Sympathy stimulated abroad in Chinese "nationalism" and the "legitimate aspirations" which the Soviet agents have invented for their Chinese friends, is designed to make the attainment of Russia's ends easier by bringing the pressure of deluded Occidental opinion to bear upon the Governments that might contemplate action to save China from Bolshevik terrorism.

Anti-Christian Agitation

The persecution of Christian missionaries, which has recently resulted in the evacuation from the interior of China of hundreds of families of devoted, earnest and self-sacrificing folk under the most distressing and often cruel circumstances, can scarcely ever be traced to religious prejudice of any sort among the Chinese. In some communities old superstitions hostile to Christianity have been revived and absurd charges have been brought against those who profess the faith, but in the vast majority of cases, the movement is frankly anti-foreign rather than anti-Christian. Among some student bodies the Bolshevik agents have taken the trouble to promote atheism as in Russia and to denounce Christianity as a mass of outworn superstition, but the greater effort has been rather to alienate the native Christian from the foreign missionary, to make a "Nationalist" of him and to use him as a tool in the general anti-foreign movement.

To this effort unbelievably large numbers of Chinese Christians have responded, ignoring completely the enormous debt that they owe to some generations of preachers, teachers and doctors, and demanding within the church in China complete freedom from foreign tutelage and control, even while taking it for granted that the foreign mission funds from Europe and America, which have hitherto reached the native Christian communities through the medium of the Mission Societies, would hereafter be forwarded directly to the Chinese church organizations, to be administered by them as they saw fit.

No picture of the state of China would be fully understandable were it not made amply clear that certain individual missionaries and certain groups and societies, following a short-sighted, if not actually suicidal policy of conciliation, have strenuously fostered this "nationalism" within the Chinese Christian communities, going far out of their way to express sympathy with what were too apparently anti-foreign movements under Russian inspiration, and spreading propaganda abroad in support of the "legitimate aspirations" of the Red groups with an industry with which no organization has found it possible to compete.

Among these groups the most highly organized, and now most notorious, is the National Christian Council, a would-be federation of Protestant Missions and Chinese churches, from which a number of the most influential Missions in China have stood aloof and towards which missionary opinion is now increasingly hostile, but which has shown an efficiency in propaganda which no other missionary organization has thought it quite respectable to emulate.

The most definite proof, perhaps, of the anti-foreign rather than anti-Christian motives behind the persecution of the Christian missionaries, is the growing hostility to foreign missionaries shown by General Feng Yü-hsiang, the "Christian General," and his many Christian subordinates towards missionaries in Shensi and Kansu, where their position has recently become untenable and from which provinces many have already been evacuated. General Feng, after a long sojourn in Moscow, has returned to China imbued with the bitterest anti-foreignism, utterly forgetful of the enormous

support which the Christian missions have given him throughout his career.

The Soldier and Bandit Pest

Incessant and purposeless internecine warfare over a period of many years, and throughout the better part of China, has given birth not only to vast armies of men under some degree of control and discipline, but also to equally large hordes of useless, rapacious, cruel parasites, drawn from the coolie class, who are encouraged by their equally unscrupulous leaders to excesses which beggar description. Such organizations are now soldiers, now bandits, and it makes little difference in their behaviour what they are called. In the South the same class are now soldiers or sailors, now pirates. Even in what must be termed, by way of distinction, the regular armies, loyalty and discipline are at a premium, and wherever a man in uniform goes, whether he be field-marshal or private, he grants himself the right to high-handed impositions and exactions, monopolizing communications, billeting himself on the public, demanding the right of way, behaving with insufferable arrogance to all, interfering with the ordinary processes of justice, defying the law and the civil authorities, and almost invariably looting and destroying in retreat.

In all of these respects it is clearly emphasized that the Southern forces are no better than the Northern, but are often most systematically troublesome under Russian direction, wrecking and defiling foreign property and stripping the country folk of their most trifling possessions.

Throughout all these armed organizations of all characters, whether influenced by propaganda or not, anti-foreignism and a conviction that foreigners can be outraged and abused with impunity has been growing for some years, thanks to the hundreds of major and minor "incidents" that have passed unresented, until it is now a sore trial upon the patience of all self-respecting or spirited persons to live in proximity to a Chinese military unit and often a source of constant nervous strain to the wives and children of foreign residents.

The Fruits of Conciliation

"Patient conciliation" in China, the much advertised policy of Great Britain, America, Japan and other major Powers, has meant, for some years past, the surrender to China in chaos, China divided and confessedly incapable of executing any sort of an international treaty or agreement, of foreign rights which were justly considered essential to the security of foreign lives and property and the peaceful pursuit of trade at a time when China had a

highly centralized Government capable of executing a bargain. Instead of stiffening foreign policy in China, the growth of anti-foreignism, the open violation of treaties, defalcation on debts, interference with the operation of the Government services which were security for foreign constructive loans, the abuse of railways foreign built and unpaid for, murderous assaults upon foreign shipping and the commandeering of vessels under foreign flags, insults to the flags and accredited representatives of all the major Powers, the seizure of foreigners by bandits and pirates under the noses of both Chinese and foreign officials, and now latterly an open campaign of insult and abuse under frank Russian direction—all these developments have prompted a display of a conciliatory spirit which the Oriental can only interpret as cowardice or weakness, and therefore as the strongest pos-

her demands for complete freedom from all international checks upon her mad course.

Because these demands are made in the name of "Nationalism," and therefore appeal strongly to uninformed public opinion in the Occident, Governments that have encouraged an enormous foreign trade investment in China and are therefore morally responsible to their nationals in China for their protection to the limit of their strength, are forced to make the absurd concession that "the old treaties are out of date" and to meet the new Boxerism, backed by ardent Soviet encouragement, with ruinous conciliation. This policy, if followed consistently to the very bitter end, means not only the loss of all trade with China, but the prostration of the whole Chinese people under unspeakable anarchy. The loss of prestige entailed also means that in every Asiatic country where European control guarantees order

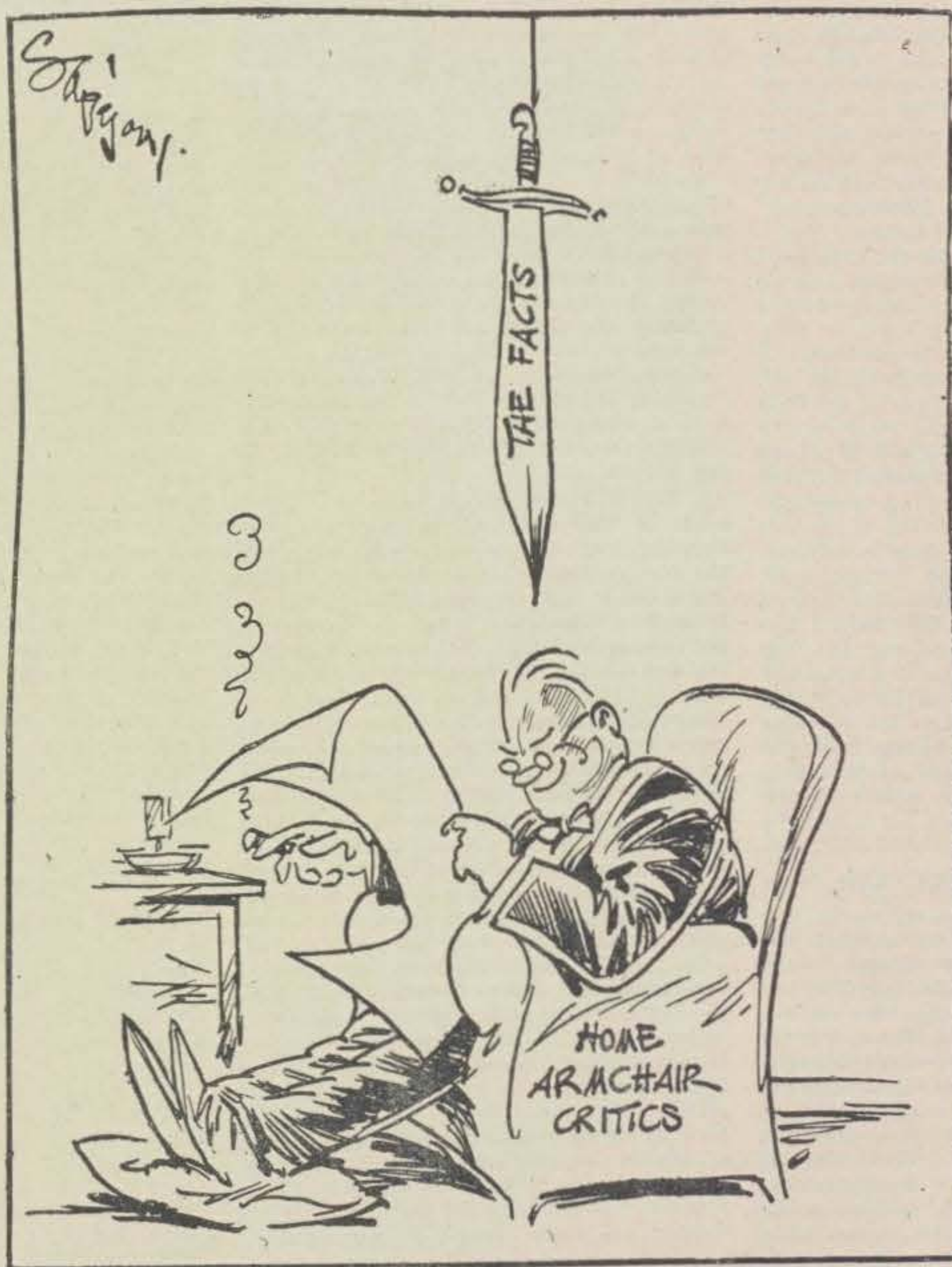
and prosperity, Moscow's agents will need no credentials, but have only to point to China, stress the ease with which the Occidental was ruined, shamed and ejected, and say: "Go thou and do likewise."

Mr. Strawn Seeks The Truth

When Mr. Silas H. Strawn, the American Plenipotentiary Delegate to the Tariff Conference, and America's representative on the Extraterritoriality Commission, came to China in October, 1925, he was predisposed to view the situation in this country as China's propagandists and Moscow's agents represent it abroad. After nearly a year's residence in the country, during which he had rare facilities for getting to the bottom of every Chinese problem that interested him, he returned to America with a profound liking and respect for the Chinese people, but with an intense desire to see that the bare facts of the situation were properly presented in the Occident. Those who have read the report of the Extraterritoriality Commission, readily available in both Great Britain and America, will find most of what is presented in the subsequent pages superfluous and will require no quotations from Mr. Strawn's subsequent speeches in America to convince them of the almost criminal character of the propaganda which befores the whole

China issue abroad. A few months after his arrival in Peking—January 15, 1926—Mr. Strawn addressed a body of Chinese students in the Chinese metropolis as follows:—

"We hear much about China being the victim of unequal treaties; that she is being ground under the heel of imperialism; that her people are suffering from the injustices of extraterritorial rights; and that her sovereign dignity is continuously impinged. Since I have been in China it has been my duty to study the economic, political and



THE SWORD THAT FELL

Mr. Damocles Knowall:—"Ah! They're having trouble in China again! Now, if they'd only leave it to me....."

sible encouragement to further outrages.

No "graceful gesture" made by any Power in China during the past five years has yielded any fruit but a series of insults, treaty violations, debt repudiations, anti-foreign demonstrations and declarations of "rights." The more clearly China displays her inability to execute any sort of an international bargain, the faster she forfeits her rights as a member of the family of nations, the more conspicuously she wastes her resources and reduces her people to abject misery—just so much louder become

social conditions obtaining here, and while it would be absurd for me to assert that I could accurately diagnose all of these conditions, I believe I can confidently state that I have thus far seen no convincing evidence that China's present-day troubles are in any degree attributable to the so-called unequal treaties, or to the imperialistic attitude of the foreign Powers. On the contrary, the evidence seems to be overwhelming that the troubles of China to-day are internal rather than external, and that unequal treaties, extraterritoriality, tariff autonomy, and imperialism are political slogans which are availed of by the agitators to excite the people of China into a frenzy of criticism and unrest."

Nearly a year later, at the end of December, 1926, he wrote as follows for a Chinese student magazine published in New York:—

"I have said on several occasions that I thought the present troubles of China were internal rather than external, and that the anti-foreign and anti-Christian feeling now obtaining in some parts of China is the result of persistent agitation and propaganda intended to excite the Chinese people into a continuous state of unrest. . . . One cannot help but deplore the situation wrought by the militarists and denounce what they are doing continuously to enslave and impoverish the Chinese people."

In a subsequent letter, Mr. Strawn wrote:—

"By telling the truth about the situation I may be able to help the Chinese people. . . . No one can help China unless he starts with a knowledge of the facts."

With all due modesty, this publication is sent forth in the same spirit in which Mr. Strawn is attempting to tell America the facts about China. The British and other foreign residents in this country have a case to present and a plea to make—a plea for more intelligent understanding—and the preceding paragraphs are designed to serve as an outline of the case to be made, but only as a *quod est demonstrandum*. The fundamental purpose, however, is to help China, as Mr. Strawn says, through a knowledge of the facts. The foreigner's interest in China and the best interests of the Chinese people are essentially one and the same. Without further argument, we trust the reader to find in the following pages of news clippings such evidence in support of our case that no summary of it will be needed to make our case clear and convincing.

PART II.

WHAT CONCESSIONS ARE, AND WHY

The tradition of Chinese superiority over all the rest of mankind is very ancient, and collateral with it there has always been a contempt for the alien and a desire to keep him at arm's length. Only when the ruling families of China have been themselves alien and, at the same time, powerful enough to over-ride native tradition, has it been possible for outsiders to travel and reside in the country even on legitimate business. Under even the most liberal regimes, however, the whole tendency was to isolate such groups of foreign traders as contrived to take up their residence in the ports or the frontier trading centres and forbid them residence in the purely Chinese communities. Under the T'ang Dynasty, which collapsed a thousand years ago, there were such isolated Arab settlements in the Southern ports. An effort has always been made in Western China to keep the Mohammedans to their own communities and to allow Tibetans access to certain quarters of certain specified trading towns. Under the late Manchu Dynasty, as under the earlier Mongol Dynasty, the subject Chinese were only too pleased that the conquerors built themselves cities apart and confined themselves to them. A hundred years or more before "extraterritoriality" was ever heard of, the Russians were limited to specified areas in Kalgan and Peking, within which they had the right to reside and trade. In almost every city in Chinese Turkestan to-day the

Chinese have arranged that they shall have one community and the Moslems another.

With this policy of isolating the alien has always gone the policy of extraterritorial jurisdiction, at the suggestion of the Chinese authorities. The idea behind it was that the Chinese could not condescend to understand the strange customs of the "barbarian" and that it was below their dignity to interfere with them. They therefore preferred that the alien communities settle their own affairs among themselves in their own outlandish ways, their only duty to China being the appointment of some one supreme authority who would be responsible to China for the good order of the community and for the collection and remission of taxes. Within each such community its own customs and traditions, though they might be in contravention of everything Chinese, constituted the law of the community and were no concern of the Chinese authorities. The Turki, Afghans, Indians, Kazzaks, Mongols, Persians and other non-Chinese in Chinese Turkestan actually live under such an extraterritorial system to-day, to the perfect satisfaction of the Chinese authorities. The antiquity of the system is indicated by the fact that the term used to designate the headman of each alien community is a Chinese corruption of the term in the language of the ancient Huns for chieftain. Along the Chinese Thibetan border a great variety of tribes live in Chinese territory under an extraterritorial system with headmen known in Chinese as *T'u-szu*. In Asiatic countries this system has been assumed to be the most convenient for all concerned and the Chinese themselves enjoyed extraterritorial rights on the Russian side of the Amur river down to comparatively recent times and have still later insisted upon such rights in Mongolia and Thibet.

All the early feuds, from the beginning of the sixteenth century down to the end of the seventeenth, came of the foreign trader's resentment of Chinese impositions and outrages, the foreigner's insistence upon his right to barter on fair terms with those Chinese who wanted to buy and sell and the Chinese official contention that the foreigner had no such right. No seizure of Chinese territory nor acquisition of any other right than that of peaceful access to Chinese markets, was then contemplated. In the defence of their right of arbitrary persecution of traders the Chinese finally lost in 1842, and then for the first time the question of how foreigners who were granted the right to trade in Chinese markets were to live and be governed, came up for discussion. The most natural and acceptable solution to the problems that arose was the one to which the Chinese were accustomed in their dealings with other "barbarians" on their frontiers; namely a system under which the detested aliens were to be segregated on otherwise worthless sites and were to be responsible to their headmen (their consuls), who would in turn be responsible to the Chinese authorities for the administration of justice, the punishment of crime and the keeping of order within the "barbarian" communities, thereby relieving the Chinese of the arduous task of meddling with their affairs.

This arrangement did not redound to the foreigner's honour and was no "concession" to any recognized superiority until the Concessions themselves began to develop and to surpass in magnificence, prosperity, peace, order and the administration of justice, as well as volume of trade, the shabby communities about them. The arrangement was not uncomplimentary to the Chinese until the Concessions, developed on supposedly worthless sites, made China's best efforts look puerile and clumsy, nor until the foreigner's systems of administration and justice proved the Chinese systems barbarous by attracting all the Chinese and all the Chinese wealth that could be crowded into them for greater security. The development of these communities by the foreigner has cost China and the Chinese neither fortune nor incon-

venience, but has made a trade secure which has brought incalculable wealth into the country. The wretched sites rented to the foreigners as their ghettos, less than a century ago in nearly all cases, are now the most valuable property in China, thanks to foreign enterprise and Chinese enterprise under foreign direction and control. This increase in values is due in small measure only to the growth of the foreign populations within their ghettos, but to the passionate desire of the Chinese to crowd into territory where Chinese imposition and injustice do not strangle trade and industry, where they can publicly enjoy the fruits of their labours without fear of their confiscation. There can be no more striking argument than these patent facts against the return to Chinese administration of any territory which the foreigner has rented and developed.

As a matter of abstract justice the Chinese have no legitimate claim upon the control of properties developed by the alien. She has not opened her country to free residence, purchase of land and trade, and has not yet proposed to do so. She leased us ghettos to restrict our movements and limit our trade activities, and now that the least of these ghettos is worth more than her greatest and finest city, she says that their existence is derogatory to her dignity and insists upon cancelling the leases. Suppose that a corrupt, sluggish and shabby community in England or America gave a stranger a perpetual lease on swampy land in an undesirable slum, that he developed on it great commercial emporiums and desirable residences, and ran his affairs so fairly and honestly that every enterprising and decent member of an otherwise unhealthy community desired to live and do business nowhere else, would it be thought just if the leaders in the community, which had grown still more shabby, corrupt and demoralized, were to demand the cancellation of the lease, demand control of the whole business enterprise and threaten to hound the stranger out of the community if he did not comply? This is precisely the relative position of the foreigner in his Concessions and Settlements and of the Chinese "patriots" who demand the "return" to China of all that we have contributed to their war-torn and lawless country, as well as the surrender of their prosperous and happy fellow nationals within the Concession to the mercies of an officialdom, whether southern or northern, "nationalist" or militarist, from which any Chinese will pay all that he has to escape.

The Struggle Against Exclusion

At the time of Marco Polo's visit to China, at the end of the 13th century, overland trade between the Near and Far East met with no obstacles and few impositions, and there is increasing evidence to show that under the Mongol regime European participation in this trade was important. A century later, however, China reverted under the native Ming dynasty to a policy of jealous, rigid exclusion, while political disruption in Central Asia barred all access by land. The search for a means of access by sea then became the dream of all the mariner-adventurers of Europe, but it was not until 1516 that the Portuguese navigator Perestrello, sailing from Malacca, actually reached the Chinese coast; while the first navigator to attempt trade was Andrade, who arrived at Canton in 1517 with two ships, received permission to trade and established a post there. Andrade's men showed no disposition, however, to carry themselves as suppliant barbarians or tribute bearers, and an anti-foreign demonstration—Canton's first—was fomented against them in 1522, during which their post was destroyed. The diminutive harbour of Macao, on the tip of a rugged peninsula at the mouth of the West River, was, however, leased to the Portuguese in 1537 and remained the only genuine "concession" in China until 1842.

The history of the various endeavours of the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, British,

French, Americans and others to establish the right to trade with China in peace, free from imposition and insult, during the next three centuries is too long and intricate to outline here. Mutual jealousies among the trading nations enhanced the difficulties which the Chinese official passion for exclusion put in the way of free access. Contempt for the foreigner subjected all who were grudgingly given the right to live in restricted trading stations to almost unbearable abuse, and resentment of such abuse often led to friction which interrupted all trade except through the little port of Macao. Official greed, satisfying itself through the Co-hong monopoly, was a heavy burden at Canton, while the exactions imposed at other ports often forced complete withdrawal. No foreign official, let alone trader, was permitted to have any direct dealings with the Chinese officials, to enter a Chinese city, nor to wander away from the congested base assigned to the "barbarians." No trader was permitted to import a wife, or indeed women of any sort.

The First Treaties

Under these conditions, adverse as they were, trade had grown to such proportions at the opening of the 19th century that a conflict was so inevitable that anyone but a shortsighted and arrogant Chinese Viceroy would have seen it coming; and it needed a very small spark in 1842 to start it. In this war the Chinese and Manchu armies were everywhere overwhelmingly defeated by a small British force and the war ended with the treaty of Nanking, the first "unequal treaty," by virtue of which China had for the first time to pretend to acknowledge the equality of an alien state. Hongkong, then a barren rock frequented by fishermen and pirates only, was ceded to Great Britain as a trading base, while Canton, Foochow, Ningpo and Shanghai were declared open to foreign trade, and provision was made for British subjects to reside in isolated communities on leased land in these ports. It was also agreed that the Chinese Government should fix and adhere to a fair Customs tariff to replace the erratic impositions that had so frequently throttled trade altogether.

It was not until 1847 that permission was given for the erection of churches *within the foreign communities*, and it was not until 1858 that the French made provision for missionary work and the toleration of Christianity outside the ports. It was not until 40 years later that diplomatic officials were granted access to the Court at Peking as the envoys of equal nations and consular officials were permitted to deal with Chinese provincial officials on a basis of equality. The whole history of foreign relations with China up to 1901, in fact, is the story of obstinate Chinese resistance to the foreign "barbarian's" assumption of equality or of his right to any other consideration than that of contemptuous tolerance.

By no means all of the treaty ports, settlements, open marts and ports of call, to which the foreigner now has access in China and her dependencies, were made available to international trade under duress or threat of war, as seems to be commonly believed abroad. Many have been thrown open at one time or another, to invite trade, by officials of the local and central Governments. It has been said by uninformed persons like Mr. Lloyd-George and Senator Borah that the foreigner holds 49 of China's finest cities. It can be said without the slightest fear of contradiction that, with the exception of the leased territories of Kuantung (Japanese), Kuangchowwan (French), and Weihaiwei (British), the last two to be returned when the Chinese will have them, *there is not a single Chinese native city in this whole land that is under foreign control or government of any sort.* The foreigner controls nothing but what he built up himself, and if there happen to be many thousands of Chinese dwelling in these communities, under foreign police control (but not subject to foreign courts), they are rather

intruders into the foreign ghettos than victims of foreign oppression, who have crowded into the areas allotted to the alien because they trusted him more than they did their own officials. In only 17 out of the 49 cities, of which the agitators have so much to say, are there Concessions or Settlements under any form of foreign administration. In the others the foreigners are scattered about through the native communities, subject to consular jurisdiction, but also subject in most respects to Chinese police regulations and, indirectly, to local taxation.

The great misconception abroad seems to be that the Concessions and Settlements coincide with the Chinese cities from which, for convenience, they take their names. Nothing could be more misleading. In many cases they are at no little distance from the cities from which they take their names, though by the nature of things, as the foreign Settlement grows in importance the Chinese population edges up to it, surrounds it and all but overflows it. The best way to make this clear is to take the major foreign communities, one by one, and give some account of their creation, character and present circumstances.

Hongkong

As we have already stated, Hongkong was in 1842 a barren island whose mountains rose precipitously from the sea, a refuge for a handful of pirates and fishermen. For a century or more the life of the trader at Canton had been so uncomfortable and precarious, thanks to systematic persecution, that Great Britain felt the need of a trading base somewhat removed from the turbulent Cantonese and their truculent officials, where she could warehouse her goods and protect her subjects. The intrinsic worth of the base was no consideration and the little island chosen was known to be of no real value to China. Nothing grew on it and, so far as then appeared, there was no room for the development of a city between the shore and the base of the mountains. By private treaty with the few inhabitants, the entire island could probably have been purchased for less than a thousand pounds.

We know from the records of the negotiations that the Chinese did not demur in the slightest degree to its cession. They considered it worthless and probably were glad to know that the British contemplated establishing their trading station on an island so far from Canton. Neither the makers of the treaty of 1842 nor the founders of this little colony could possibly have foreseen the amazing development that has come in less than a century. There are a thousand other similar rocks along the China coast, as barren as Hongkong was in 1842, but Hongkong is one of the great ports of the world. There was little room for a city on the level; so the city grew up the precipitous mountain side. It was a bleak place then and uninviting; it is now one of the most beautiful places in the world. The total trade in 1841 would not have kept a modern Chinese shopkeeper in cigarettes. In 1924 the trade amounted to £135,830,272, and the shipping to 56,731,077 tons.

The building up of this amazing little colony was due to British energy, imagination, enterprise and probity, but the benefits derived have never been jealously guarded for British subjects. The non-Chinese residents numbered, in 1924, 16,000; the Chinese residents 783,550. It is estimated that between 80 and 90 per cent. of the property and commercial shares held in Hongkong are in Chinese hands. It is impossible to estimate what share of the wealth which this big Chinese population amasses in Hongkong goes into investments on the mainland, but it must be large. No Chinese has ever dreamed of developing a port like Hongkong on any other rock along the coast. They would all laugh at the thought of attempting it. Yet the acquisition and development of Hongkong is represented in all "nationalist" literature as one of the grossest of

Britain's imperialistic sins against China, something which she would expiate by the return to Chinese control if she had a conscience. Though the trade of Hongkong has poured unlimited wealth into Canton and all the commercial centres of the South, and has made possible an enormous development in the export trade from Kuangtung, the "Nationalists" have been scheming for many years to wreck the colony and look forward greedily to the day when they can recover it and swagger through its desolated streets.

Canton

The present foreign Concessions at Canton, on the little island of Shameen, were acquired by the British and French in 1861, simply to give foreigners a place adjacent to the ever-hostile city where they could at least live in peace, even when trade was disrupted by anti-foreign demonstrations. It lies in the Pearl River, some hundreds of yards from what was once the walled city, separated from a suburb by a narrow creek or canal. The total area of the island is about 53 acres, and it is not made up of land taken from the Chinese, but was *actually built up* at great cost, between stone retaining walls, on a sand bank in shallow water, by British and French enterprise. It is now a park-like residential quarter, with fine trees and gardens, such as one sees nowhere else about squalid, shabby Canton. It has no commercial value, in that no river steamer can approach within a furlong of it, and it is not near enough to the business centres of Canton to be a suitable site for a shopping district. Yet the Cantonese, with their own huge city under their untrammelled jurisdiction, resent its existence bitterly and are forever talking about how they will "improve" it when it comes under their control.

Shanghai

The right of foreigners to lease land in the vicinity of the city of Shanghai and reside on the mud flats on the Huangpu river front was granted the British under treaty of 1842, and to the French and Americans by their treaties of 1844. What was then the British Concession was leased in perpetuity, at a fixed land rent or tax, in 1843; the French Concession in 1849. The Americans also acquired a Concession in an area known as Hongkew. The British Concession stretched along the west bank of the Huangpu river, about a mile from the Chinese city. The French Concession was south of the British Concession, almost contiguous with the Chinese city, while the American Concession lay to the north of the British Concession, separated from it by a creek. All three plots of land were wretchedly low, swampy and unsuitable for building. Water could be struck almost anywhere three feet below the surface, drainage seemed impossible, and it promised to be an unhealthy site. Yet here again foreign courage and enterprise reared an edifice which never fails to astonish tourists on their first visit.

In 1869 the British and American Concessions were pooled. Land Regulations, which virtually constitute a charter, were agreed upon with the approval of the Chinese Government and the various foreign Powers represented in the community, and the International Settlement blossomed forth with a Municipal Council elected by the "Rate Payers," or renters of land. The French Concession maintained its identity, but is, like the International Settlement, open to the residence of all nationalities. The Municipal Council now numbers nine members of various nationalities. The Council elects one of its own members Chairman, who functions somewhat in the capacity of a Mayor, the present Chairman being an American.

The one fact that must be clearly understood abroad is that the city of Shanghai, as it existed prior to 1843, is still as much under Chinese jurisdiction as it ever was and is subject to no foreign control whatsoever. The same is true of the vast suburbs of the foreign-controlled area that has grown up about it.

Since, according to Treaty, the foreigners who originally settled within their prescribed Concessions were limited to them, it was also understood that no Chinese was to own land within the bounds of the Concessions. This has always been easily evaded by the purchase of land in the name of a foreigner, so that now there are in the combined foreign areas 30,000 alien residents of all nationalities and 1,100,000 Chinese. In the immediate suburbs which crowd around the Settlement and the French Concession there are 1,200,000 Chinese, the majority of whom would be inside the foreign boundaries under foreign police regulation if they could find space or could afford the higher rentals.

The original city of Shanghai, over which foreigners have never sought jurisdiction, is a tawdry little walled town about a mile in diameter which, though it has a generous waterfront of its own, has not progressed in any degree since 1843. Its houses are hovels, its streets average ten feet in width and are filthy and ill-paved. It has no drainage system and its public water is undrinkable. A mile down the waterfront is an imposing row of marble, granite, steel and concrete buildings—on no better site than the native city or a score of other shabby Chinese communities on the river. Some of the newer communities that have grown up around the Settlement have emulated the foreigner to some degree and are more respectable, but their land values are far below those within the Settlement. Land in the heart of the old city can be bought for £300 an acre or less. The nearer the Settlement the higher the price, until, within the boundaries of the foreign controlled areas, the values per acre range from £25,000 to £200,000.

These contrasts have not inspired the "Nationalist" to preach emulation, but to demand control—in short, confiscation. The Shanghai community is visited every year by enormous numbers of Chinese from every province who make the inevitable comparisons. Under "Nationalist" tuition they are led to believe that such an astonishing display of the foreigner's capacity is not only derogatory to China's prestige but is the emblem of a menace to her independent existence. They are therefore easily persuaded to join in the cry for the retrocession of Shanghai, knowing that that would mean ruin. The worse conditions become elsewhere in China, the greater the contrast between foreign efficiency and native ineptitude, and therefore the louder the anti-foreign cry. In such situations as this any clear-headed observer will find the key to the quality of "Nationalism" and to most of the agitator's "legitimate aspirations."

Hankow

The native town of Hankow is officially and historically the least of three cities grouped about the confluence of the Han and Yangtze Rivers, within a rifle shot of one another, Wuchang, Hanyang and Hankow. They are collectively known to the Chinese as the Wu-Han cities. Wuchang is the provincial capital of the Province of Hupeh; Hanyang was once an important county seat and is now an industrial town; Hankow was until a generation ago a mushroom growth, a market town of no official status, grown into a great commercial city because its foreshore on both the Han and Yangtze Rivers afforded the safest and best junk anchorage. The Yangtze River flows generally from west to east, but in its course through the Wu-Han cities it flows from south to north. Wuchang, then, is on the east side of the Yangtze, while Hankow and Hanyang, divided by the Han River which flows in from the west, are on the west bank, Hanyang being to the south, almost immediately opposite Wuchang, and Hankow to the north. The foreign Concessions, as they once were, extend in a narrow strip along the Yangtze river front from the city of Hankow northwards, British, Russian, French, German and Japanese, in that order. These relative positions are essential

to an understanding to the vast body of news that has emanated from Hankow during the past six months.

The Yangtze Valley was thrown open to foreign trade by virtue of the British and French treaties of 1858, ratified in 1860, after the allied forces had taken Peking. In 1861 the renowned Harry Parkes, whose name is associated with the creation of so many of the British trading settlements in China, sailed up the Yangtze, visiting the various ports and arranging single-handed for the lease of land to British commercial colonies in such centres as he thought suitable for trade. Having arrived at Hankow, he negotiated without any difficulty or friction for the lease of a narrow strip of river front, then wholly unoccupied, north of and adjacent to the ruined city of Hankow, which had been fired and totally destroyed by the Taiping rebels seven years before. The business quarter of Hankow was then at the other end of the city and Hanyang was still an important commercial centre, so that the unoccupied land that Parkes bought was not precisely in the thick of things.

Some years later the Concession was deepened by treaty, so that the total area is now 149 acres. The area was so small, in fact, that before the advantage of being near the foreign Concession had dawned upon the Chinese merchants of the port, it had been pretty well taken up by British and other foreign establishments, so that it was physically impossible for the Chinese to flow into it as they have done into Shanghai, and the Chinese population has never numbered much more than seven thousand, except in seasons of panic such as the advent of the "Nationalists" in September, when more than thirty thousand persons contrived to pack into the Concession for safety. As usual, however, all the big business of the native city has crowded up to the Concession, and the narrow street dividing the native town from the British Concession is occupied on both sides by the banks, jewellers, silk shops and others whose wares are precious. Also, as in all such foreign centres, commerce has emerged from the city and flowed around behind the Foreign Concessions, so that a very great and rich Chinese commercial quarter parallels the narrow strip of Concessions, running from south to north. Steamers of all nationalities lie off the foreign foreshore, or as near to it as they can get, while the Hankow city waterfront is patronized by nothing but junks and launches.

The situation here is the same as in all other similar communities. The foreigner took an unoccupied site, away from the centre of things, and within a few years made that site the commercial centre of a great community. There was no geographical advantage in his position, for if there had been the Chinese, who were there more than two thousand years before him, would have discovered it. He made his community the centre by virtue of his own enterprise and the fact that under the jurisdiction of his own people he was able to live and trade in peace of mind and without fear of impositions, exactions or official tyranny. As usual, his special position enabled him to bring a great deal more wealth to his Chinese neighbours than to himself, so his Chinese neighbours crowded around to be near the source of prosperity and to share, if possible, a little of his immunity from danger and oppression.

It is to this situation that the "Nationalists" have put an end in Hankow through virulent propaganda and mob violence; and by signing the recent agreement—now notorious in the East as "the Great Betrayal"—the British Government has not only acquiesced in the humiliation and deliberately planned abuse of their nationals, but to the inevitable ruin of a trade establishment founded upon the foreigner's right to conduct his business in a state of immunity from persecution and imposition. There is no sane Chinese or foreigner in this country who can see how the "Nationalist's" mad passion for economic destruction,

nor the British Government's weak deference to this passion, can bring anything but the demoralization of trade and ensuing misery to the people of Central China. The criminal folly of the whole British *debacle* in Hankow stands out all the more clearly when it is remembered that neither the French nor the Japanese, with their similar Concessions under similar administration, have been asked by the "Nationalists," nor have expressed any intention, to make such a surrender as Britain has made. The open discrimination in Hankow against Great Britain is overwhelming proof, if any were required, that Red Chinese diplomacy is completely under the control of Red Russia, so the British surrender does not appear to any competent observer in China as satisfying China's "legitimate aspirations," but as a retreat before Moscow's conquest of the East.

Kiukiang and Kuling

Kiukiang, strictly speaking, was never created a Concession, but simply grew to be one for the greater convenience of the Chinese authorities and the foreign residents. Like Hankow, it was leased by Harry Parkes in 1861. It is a very small bit of land, a few hundred yards either way, on the river front, remote, like most leaseholds, from the Chinese city and the Chinese waterfront. As elsewhere, the native communities have crept up upon it and surrounded it. The administration, which was of the simplest and most unpretentious sort, was evolved by the residents to relieve the Chinese of the task of policing it and attending to its public works, or rather to do what the Chinese would not do to the foreigner's satisfaction. No community in China could have been as innocent of "imperialism" nor have lived on fairer and more honest relations with the Chinese community that benefited by foreign trade.

A short distance from Kiukiang, in the Lushan range, is a mountain summer resort known as Kuling, long patronized by foreigners and, in recent years, by an increasingly large number of wealthy Chinese. The existence of this resort is said to give highly remunerative employment to 1,500 Chinese of the Kiukiang district. The "Nationalists" not only hounded the foreigners, including the British Consul out of Kiukiang, but permitted their soldiers to loot and defoul all foreign premises, while urging the mob to an anti-foreign frenzy in Kiukiang which forced all foreign residents of Kuling to withdraw while escape was possible. In the face of this Russian-inspired patriotism the Concession at Kiukiang has now been turned over to the local Red administration by the British Government, and foreigners have been generally notified that Kuling will not be a safe summer residence. The cost of this to the Chinese community will be enormous, while no foreign resident of the port of Kiukiang, in the face of the continued agitation that has followed the yielding up of the Concession, presumes to believe that British or other foreign trade can amount to anything under the new conditions.

Tientsin

In Tientsin the foreign Concessions, closely grouped together along the windings of the Hai or Pei River, form a compact community, but were originally even further removed from the native city and its suburbs than most such communities. Much of the land upon which Tientsin has grown up is, like Shanghai, low-lying, waterlogged, difficult to drain and subject to flood. The British and French Concessions were leased in 1861, following upon the ratification of the treaty of 1858, which opened the port to foreign trade. After the British came the Russians, Italians, Austrians, Belgians and Italians. Even the Americans had a small leased area, later incorporated in the British Concession. As in all other ports, the land leased and developed by foreign enterprise was unoccupied and a great part of it could not even be cultivated. As in Shanghai, there was ample

room for a Chinese invasion, commercial and other. With each collapse of Government in Peking, the Tientsin Concessions become the refuge of a host of unseated officials, fleeing from imprisonment or execution. This flight has come to be anticipated by successive groups of officials as an inevitable procedure, so that most old officials already have houses in one Concession or another, and it is now the concern of every new official who rises to eminence in Peking to build or purchase such a "funk-hole." Nearly all the handsomest residences and a great deal of the most valuable property are therefore owned by wealthy Chinese of the official class. The number of establishments of this sort, of almost palatial proportions, runs into the hundreds. The small trader and the big merchant are also present. In the British, Belgian, Japanese, Italian and French Concessions there are therefore 8,969 foreigners as against 98,544 Chinese. There are no figures available for the former Russian, German, and Austrian Concessions, which have now reverted to Chinese control, with depressing results, but the proportions are estimated to be about the same. The adjoining native city, suburbs and environs are presumed to have a population of about half a million. They are, of course, under untrammelled Chinese control.

The foreign Concessions in Tientsin, being well out of the zone of "nationalistic" endeavour and beyond the reach of organized Russian propaganda, have so far been free from molestation and are not an immediate Red objective as the International Settlement at Shanghai is, but there can be no doubt that the "nationalistic" spirit is pervading the North. It is very contagious, and the discomfiture of the foreigner, even at enormous cost to trade and the well-being of those who live under foreign jurisdiction, is sufficiently flattering to Chinese vanity to appeal in any quarter as a noble aim. It is, therefore, not surprising that while no anti-foreign demonstrations have as yet occurred in the North, the present Peking Administration, unrecognized by the Powers as it is, has given the British Legation to understand that it expects the surrender of the British Concession to Chinese control.

The Moral

As a last word on the subject of Concessions, it must be reasserted that it has only been within the past few years that any class of Chinese looked upon them as derogatory to China's dignity or as infringements of her sovereignty. The idea of isolating the unwelcome foreigner on patches of waste land where he would not interfere with the even flow of Chinese life, and could be left to his own strange devices, was for many years a most satisfactory conception. The word "concession" is an unfortunate translation of the term which the Chinese applied to these isolation camps from the very beginning. The Chinese phrase means a "rented enclosure," and there is no implication of cession in the term, but rather the thought of fencing the alien off on a rented tract.

At a later date, when the great growth and prosperity of these "rented enclosures" overcame native prejudice, and commerce began to crowd into and around them, the foreigner in his Concession was looked upon very much as a landlord might view a tenant in a neighbouring house, whose enterprise enriched the whole neighbourhood and raised property values and whose prestige and influence gave his neighbours a feeling of importance and security.

The unreasoning, rabid resentment of the "Nationalists," who would rather wreck all China than see the foreigner prosper on Chinese soil, was instilled into the popular mind by disillusioned students from abroad and has latterly been whipped into a frenzy by Russian agitators. While the Concessions are intact and the foreigner retains control of them, China cannot be wholly ruined nor can China's foreign trade, for the commerce and industry of tortured and distracted China can take refuge in them. Once get the "Nationalist" and his mob into them, however, and the foreigner must

go, leaving China to be Bolshevized, reduced to the depths of Russian wretchedness, at Moscow's discretion.

PART III.

THE RISE OF THE RED TIDE

Mob action in China is no novelty. It has been since the beginning of Chinese history the people's only recognized, legitimate means of participation in government. The voice of the infuriated masses, raised in protest against insufferable wrongs, has always been feared by Chinese officials from the Emperor down, and when a mob movement succeeded in overthrowing a Dynasty or in righting a grievous wrong, the voice of the mob was accepted as the voice of Heaven. Mencius said that it was the duty of the people to rebel against an evil ruler. Certainly in China they have no other check upon their rulers, whether under an Empire or an alleged Republic.

At all events mob action is so sanctioned by tradition that the mob in China is always given the benefit of the doubt, is always credited with a just cause, a genuine wrong to be set right; so a great deal of popular sympathy and enthusiasm invariably support any disorderly action in China from a riot to a rebellion—until it fails, when it is quietly assumed that it was not divinely inspired but a wicked and reprehensible breach of the peace. The Taiping rebels and the Boxers were followed by the suppressed enthusiasm of millions, but when their movements failed and were utterly stamped out, it became the popular thing not only to say but to feel that they were hordes of vicious criminals, shaming the philosophers and the patriarchs, and endangering the State. The Revolution of 1911-12, involving the overthrow of the Manchus, succeeded (or seemed to) and was irresistibly popular. The Revolution of 1913 failed, and it was generally felt that the revolutionaries were a public nuisance who had got what they deserved. Within a few years after the founding of the Republic the great mass of the people felt in their bones that it was a dismal failure and yearned after a restored monarchy. The monarchy movements of Yuan Shih-kai and Chang Hsun both collapsed ignominiously and every one cheered the rescue of the glorious Republic. At this writing the anti-foreign, ultra-radical, Soviet-guided "Nationalist" movement seems to be sweeping the land, crushing the powerful northern militarists and driving the once all-powerful foreigner before it. The mob howls and the foreigner runs or begs for terms. Long live the mob! Were the Powers suddenly to descend upon "nationalist" China with a disciplinary rod and the whole anti-foreign movement go up in thin wreaths of smoke—as would inevitably happen—the people of China would wag their heads sagely and remark that it was a just outcome of an unjust persecution of the foreign guests who had treated China so kindly and brought her so many material and spiritual gifts. This dissertation is essential to an understanding of the rapid spread of the "nationalist" blaze, fed as it has been on success and "conciliation."

There was almost no trace of anti-foreignism in the Revolution of 1911-12 which ushered in the Republic. The Republic itself was a Western importation, brought in by young men who had been abroad, had learned all they knew of the theory of democracy in the West, and who believed that Occidental civilization, in all its phases, injected into their declining nation, would have a reviving effect overnight. Since the Revolution itself unseated the Manchus and was to that extent a success, the nation at large, while comprehending almost nothing of the new political doctrine which Dr. Sun Yat-sen and his hopeful young followers of the Kuomintang (People's Party) propounded, was ready to follow in the wake of success and adopt

everything alien that they could comprehend. Indeed, they took much that they did not comprehend on faith. The highly Americanized democracy and a hundred other institutions then introduced proved at once to be as grotesque, ill-fitting, uncomfortable and ill-suited as a top hat on an able seaman. Yet the predisposition to look upon foreigners and foreign things benignly outlasted disillusionment in most quarters, and from 1912 to 1917 there was probably less anti-foreign feeling in China than during any period in the preceding three centuries or more of Sino-foreign relations.

China Not Ready for a Republic

The one quarter in which disillusionment was accompanied by resentment was in the above-mentioned People's Party. The Taiping rebels of 75 years ago professed a religion which was a strangely distorted form of Christianity and were at the outset exceedingly pro-foreign, since they were convinced that the Christian nations of the West would give them material aid. In the same way the Republican enthusiasts, who professed to be introducing Western political and cultural institutions, expected not only sympathetic but material aid from the West against the very powerful conservative forces that survived the Revolution, particularly among the northern military. As it was, the Kuomintang was not only forced to compromise with these militarists, after the removal of the Emperor, but had also to yield to their supreme chief, Yuan Shih-kai, the post of President. It is often argued by southern sympathizers that the Republic, as Sun Yat-sen and the Kuomintang conceived it, was never given a chance. In this there is much truth, but it is equally true that few sane and sober foreigners who knew China well believed that there was the slightest hope of the success of a full-fledged Republic succeeding in this country. The people were wholly untrained to self-government, ignorant of the significance of the new institutions, and for the most part too illiterate to be reached by propaganda. Government had to go on, so there had to be officials trained to meet and handle Chinese problems. Most of the officials of the old régime therefore had to be retained, and they were so steeped in the corruption and venality characteristic of the Empire that, lacking a strong controlling hand from above, there were very few of them who would not, and did not when opportunity offered, regard democracy as a synonym for unchecked imposition and speculation. The Westernized radicals of the South were full of fine theories but showed no grasp of practical problems before China. The powerful northern army, then splendidly organized, disciplined and controlled, was essentially conservative, moreover, and would have obeyed none but its accustomed masters. Much as the Western world sympathized with the dreams and hopes of the Sun Yat-sen following, much as it looked upon the Revolution as a symptom of change for the better in China, it saw the imminent need of a strong central authority to replace the Imperial Court in the task of holding China together while some form of democracy was being evolved, and therefore welcomed Yuan Shih-kai's assumption of the presidential chair; and, in 1913, a Consortium of European Governments advanced him a sum of £25,000,000 for the ostensible purpose of the "reorganization" of the country. This the Southern radicals who revolted in 1913, but were badly beaten, looked upon as material support of the forces of darkness, and it was undoubtedly from this date that the tide of anti-foreignism set in.

While the South was nursing its grievances and again organizing for revolt against the northern military machine, Yuan Shih-kai allowed himself to be persuaded by the conservative generals and officials of the North,

who were convinced that the Republic was a misfit, a premature experiment to make himself Emperor and found a new dynasty. In the Spring of 1916 this plan ended in failure and in the death of Yuan Shih-kai, the sole recognized head of the northern armies. Disintegration and demoralization in the North date from this year.

Disintegration and Demoralization

Yuan Shih-kai's successor in control of the armies, Tuan Chi-jui, never enjoyed the dead President's undisputed command. Neither did he make peace with the Southerners in good faith. The South started seething again, rival military leaders commenced to make trouble in the North, another monarchy movement, a Manchu restoration, was attempted in July 1917, increasing military operations took more money than the treasury yielded, and provincial military chiefs began to enrich themselves, recruit armies of their own and forgot to remit funds to Peking. Discipline was breaking down in the army and banditry was on the increase. It was in 1917, to meet these conditions, that Marshal Tuan Chi-jui negotiated the first of a long series of loans from the Japanese with the idea of buying peace or of subsidizing military operations that would insure it. Japan was then following a very aggressive policy in China, and the whole nation looked upon these loans as instalments upon the purchase of China. They went on until the Spring of 1920, running up to a grand total of \$15,000,000, but they failed not only to buy the conquest of the South, but prompted a good half of the Northern armies, under the leadership of the now famous Wu Pei-fu, to declare war on Tuan Chi-jui and his following and to drive him and his army out of Peking.

Since the Spring of 1920 incessant and seemingly purposeless inter-factional warfare has devoured the greater part of China, ruined her communications, prompted the repudiation of debts and the violation of treaties, put an insufferable burden on trade, robbed Peking of all income and all authority, and has brought up a military caste, recruited from the lowest stratum of Chinese society, which has no conception of discipline or loyalty, scoffs at law and brazenly defies all authority, native or foreign. It was in this Spring of 1920, moreover, that Soviet propaganda agents with some diplomatic authority were first known to have arrived in China, casting about for likely agents, through whom the increasing chaos could be exploited.

Anti-foreign Propaganda

By this time anti-foreignism was in blossom among the radicals in the South. In 1916 Sun Yat-sen and his whole following, considering that they had a serious grievance against the Occidental, entered seriously into the Japanese scheme for a pan-Asiatic league against the West. In 1917, when the Japanese military policy favoured unlimited support of Peking under Marshal Tuan Chi-jui's dictatorship and the first loans were made, there was a revulsion of feeling in the South against Japan and a slight growth of friendliness towards the Occidental. As anti-Japanese feeling throughout China became more intense, there was a corresponding resurrection of good feeling towards Great Britain and America particularly. In 1920 the Kuomintang, then in control of Kuangtung and in alliance with revolutionary elements in other southern provinces, helped finance Wu Pei-fu's campaign against Marshal Tuan Chi-jui and concentrated all energies upon the anti-Japanese boycott. The student movement, which the Soviet agents have found such a useful medium for their propaganda, was first thoroughly organized in the early Spring of 1919 for anti-Japanese demonstrations, but was in no degree hostile to foreigners of other nationalities. By 1920, when a change in Japanese policy was imminent and the first Russian agents were operating in North China, the students, with a nation-wide organization and a high conception of their

own power, were beginning to take much more interest in national and international politics than in their studies, were just beginning to be unruly and unmanageable and were evincing a taste for exotic social and political theories to which the Red agents were not slow to cater.

China's failure at the Versailles Conference to get what both Northern and Southern leaders thought her due from Japan had an embittering effect. In the North political and military disintegration set in at a great pace after 1920, and it was impossible for Peking to execute treaties to the letter or to carry out financial obligations faithfully. This bred a reckless defiance of foreign protest and it became the task of China's diplomats to cover delinquencies with sophistry and impertinence. In the South the Kuomintang had lost the confidence of competent foreign observers of all nationalities. They had shown throughout a great passion for tearing down old institutions, in place of which they seemed unable to substitute anything but breezy phantasies. Dr. Sun Yat-sen was no longer a competent constructive leader, in foreign eyes, but a dangerous dreamer and eccentric. Those whose interests lay in the South therefore looked to more conservative and better balanced leaders, and took on pains to hide the fact, especially after men like Mr. Tang Shao-yi had retired from the Southern administration, Dr. Wu Ting-fang had died, and their places had been taken by young extremists. This Dr. Sun and his immediate following of course resented bitterly, as they did also the collection of revenues in their territory by the foreign-controlled Customs and Salt Tax collectorates, which they made futile efforts to appropriate.

Anti-foreignism in the South found its first satisfactory outlet in the now famous Seaman's Strike of the early months of 1922, when Dr. Sun Yat-sen and his agents discovered that they had the power to organize an almost perfect economic blockade of Hongkong. The degree of Soviet influence that was behind this effort is still a matter of dispute, chiefly because the Russian propaganda agents who were known to be in Canton kept very discreetly in the background and shielded whatever work they did behind the genuine economic grievances of the strikers. The executive head of the whole strike organization was a Chinese who had lived many years in America, had dabbled in socialism and syndicalism, and was known to be in touch with a Russian agent then living in a suburb of Canton.

The demoralized, war-torn North meanwhile was a fertile field for Red propaganda. Economic, social and political conditions were hopelessly bad, and it was easy to instil into the half-educated teachers and students, with their scanty information about domestic as well as world affairs, the belief that the foreigner was somehow responsible for China's rapid downward trend and to persuade them that China, with a little courage and assurance, could follow Russia's shining example and repudiate all obligations and responsibilities. An air of defiance, born of desperation, crept into the manner of every Chinese who had anything to do with a foreigner, from coolies to Cabinet Ministers. There were, however, many forces at work besides Russian influence. China's participation in the Great War, accompanied as it was by the internment and deportation of Germans and Austrians, and eventually by the cancellation of all the treaty rights of these two powerful nations, gave the Chinese an unreasonably high conception of their own importance. The loss of extraterritorial rights by the thousands of Russian refugees who fled from before Red tyranny and who had no champions in China or out, gave any vicious coolie who cared to vent his anti-foreignism upon a white man or woman an opportunity to do so with impunity. The wretchedness of many of these unfortunates, who had to descend to the lowest Chinese standards of living, also bred contempt, which the nationals of all other Powers inevitably shared to

some degree. From 1918 forward bandits commenced to seize foreigners and hold them to ransom with increasing frequency, emboldened by the fact that the authorities always had to buy them off and that the Powers concerned showed no disposition to impose penalties upon China at large. In 1920 a looting party at Yochow, Honan, acting under license from the Military Governor, killed an American missionary in cold blood, and, though the American Government, held the Governor responsible in person, the Peking Government has never been able to summon him to trial nor has America done anything about it but write notes. Within a few years China began to resent even protest when irresponsible or responsible Chinese perpetrated outrages upon foreigners, and in this attitude the Soviet Government gave full moral support. Trotsky telegraphed congratulations to a soldier who seriously injured a foreigner in a murderous assault on the Peking city wall in 1923.

Financial Liabilities Ignored

When China could not pay her debts, even for material supplies for such departments as railways and telegraphs, there was so little protest that when the revenues became available they were used for other purposes. With hundreds of millions in debts to foreigners unsecured and unpaid, China calmly floated loans on the Customs surplus as it became available and squandered the proceeds on more war. A year ago a conference sat in Peking to arrange for increases in China's Customs tariff, with the understanding that the unsecured debt would be funded and secured. The conference closed because there was no Government that could conclude or execute a treaty, but the extra tariffs are being collected in complete oblivion to both obligation and protest. The proceeds are spent to "keep the pot boiling."

The Washington Conference, held in 1922, when China was divided and showing little ability to assume her responsibilities, adopted a charitable and helpful attitude, which China chose at once to interpret as tribute to her great international importance. Of gratitude there was none, nor has any act of conciliation since impressed the articulate Chinese as anything other than a display of weakness, an invitation to discover and put forward new "rights" and new "aspirations."

These are but a few of the influences that have fertilized the field for Red endeavour. Nothing, perhaps, has made the work of the Reds so easy as the intolerable economic and social conditions in a country torn by endless, all-devastating and purposeless war. Wars to end war start every few months in China. The warlords grow fat on them, but they retort nothing to the people but a lower degree of wretchedness. They used to see hope in each one as it started. Now they are disillusioned, and no merchant or peasant sees a ray of hope in any military campaign. It is easy to persuade a hopeless and desperate people, who have lost all belief in both the ability and good will of their own leaders, that the fault is not theirs, but can be put upon the alien; and this the Russian has succeeded in doing, exploiting misery to create that bitter and unreasoning sentiment which its promoters call "nationalism." The economic background of China's unrest is well stated in the following excerpt from a pamphlet published in 1925 by the Associated American Chambers of Commerce of China, representing the Shanghai, Peking, Hankow, Tientsin and Harbin Chambers:—

"Persons familiar with conditions in China, which are a matter of common knowledge to foreigners residing in the land and thousands of tourists who have passed through the country, have some realization of the problem which China's handfull of educated leaders shouldered when they helped to overturn the ancient Manchu monarchy and attempted to establish a modern republic which is dependent upon a high standard of

general literacy on the part of the people to be governed. Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the liberal Southern leader who had been mainly instrumental in overturning the monarchy, was soon displaced as provisional president to make way for Yuan Shih-kai, a military man who almost immediately tried to start a new monarchy with himself at the head and based entirely upon force of arms. He failed in this, and the great army which he had built up largely through the use of money borrowed abroad, broke up into provincial units under the control of the Military Governors or Tuchuns.

"Since that time the country has not had a central government worthy of the name, Peking being controlled from year to year by one or another of the various military factions.

"As has frequently been stated, present conditions in China are a natural result of long-continued internal disorder and misrule which has impoverished the country and placed upon the Chinese people an impossible burden in the form of a standing army of more than a million and a half men. Rather we should say at least 25 different armies, none of which co-operate with each other or recognize any Government except the personal orders of the various commanders. China has never been united administratively or politically since the passing of Yuan Shih-kai, the first President. The country has been preyed upon by rival militarists and self-seeking politicians who have cared nothing for the welfare of the people and regarding commerce as permissible insofar as it returned revenues to maintain their ill-disciplined armies. The Chinese are an easily excitable but generally a docile people. They will tolerate from their own officials oppression and misrule which would incite Westerners to rebellion. It is always easy for politicians or militarists to serve their own private ends by diverting attention from their own shortcomings to fancied grievances against foreign nations."

China Exploited by Russian Agents

The exploitation of China's helplessness and hopelessness by Soviet Russia's agents was most adroitly and cautiously got under way by the earlier Russian agents in China. They felt their way and prepared the way before them with a restraint that would have done justice to a good cause. While the agents of the Occidental Powers were floundering about in China without purpose or policy, smiling indulgently on outrage and letting rights go by default, the Soviet agents, Khodoroff, Yourin, Joffe and Karakhan, in the order of their coming, not to mention the now notorious Borodin in Canton, worked up a following of students and intellectuals by cajolery and lavish generosity, highly organized propaganda and intensive training in the value of slogans, in which they could put implicit faith—while the money lasted. There was no attempt at the use of the Chinese military nor the organization of the semi-criminal ruffraff until the student federations throughout China, ready-made through the anti-Japanese campaign of 1919, had been thoroughly educated in the theory and practice of anti-foreign agitation.

The earlier Soviet envoys made good use of "pink" Occidentals resident in the country to bring them into intimate touch with the Chinese intellectuals. In their propaganda offices in Peking, Shanghai and Canton they hired the cleverest young men they could find at the highest possible salaries for translation work and what might be called social penetration. Both foreigners and Chinese were thrilled and flattered by their attentions and lavish hospitality. Once they had a grip on the student imagination they organized a kind of student Tcheka to hold it. In every school in the land they found men willing to act as agents in exchange for good pay. These

agents formed cells or nuclei about themselves of flattered and worshipful admirers. They could wear silk where the others wore cotton. They talked glibly of revolutionary matters in Europe and America which awed and bewildered the uninformed youngsters.

When Mr. Leon Karakhan, Soviet Ambassador, became active in 1924 he already had a large and enthusiastic student following in every educational centre, ready to spread apologist literature in extenuation of any excess that hired criminals might perpetrate. Karakhan's occupation of the former Tzarist Legation in Peking in the Autumn of 1924 gave a tremendous fillip to Red prestige, and this, coinciding with Wu Pei-fu's defeat and the progress of Sun Yat-sen, victorious though dying, to Peking under Borodin's guidance and patronage, prepared the way for a Red domination of the Peking Government. This was made easier by the "defeatist" policy of the British, American, French, Japanese and other Governments, that insisted upon smiling benevolently upon anti-foreign outrages and agreeing, whenever challenged, that foreign rights were essentially in contravention of Chinese "legitimate aspirations."

The Shanghai Incident

In May, 1925, the Soviet Government signed with Feng Yü-hsiang, the "Christian General," an agreement by virtue of which he was to receive material aid—money, guns and ammunition—in exchange for the Soviet's right to spread propaganda in all districts under his control. He was then the nominal master of five or six northern provinces and, supposedly, the ally of Chang Tso-lin. At the same time huge consignments of arms were being delivered in Canton, Russian publicity and military experts were being sent into the South wholesale, and the Whampoa Cadet School, a highly modern military school in which anti-foreign propaganda and the science of warfare were given equal place on the curriculum, was calling for students in every province in China. Labour organization was actively undertaken during the Winter of 1924-25. Agitators were hired by Soviet officials (there is documentary evidence for this) and "cells" were created through mill workers in the various ports who could be terrorized through threats against their wives and families. Literally scores of expert Russian Tcheka agents were imported, their names and passports changed in Harbin in a forgery mill, and sent to every big Chinese industrial town to show the hired agitators how trouble was best fomented. The Shanghai authorities have documentary record of every movement in this campaign. Then came the much advertised "May 30th Incident" and its equally notorious repercussion in Shameen, Canton. The following statement on these events, published by the Associated American Chambers of Commerce, is perhaps as concise and clear a review as can now be found, although much more detailed reports from official sources are available in many publications, notably the "China Year Book" for 1926, Chapter XXVI:—

The so-called Nanking Road incident in Shanghai had its beginning a few days earlier when Chinese laborers employed in a local Japanese cotton mill broke into the factory and destroyed several thousand dollars worth of machinery. When ordered to leave the premises they attacked the guards with iron bars and pieces of machinery, whereupon the guards fired, killing one of the labourers.

The Shanghai Municipal Police arrested several of the strike leaders who participated in the riot in the Japanese cotton mill, and these men were held for trial in the International Mixed Court. On May 30th Chinese students in local schools, headed by students from the Shanghai University, organized a lecturing campaign upon the principal streets of the International Settlement of Shanghai.

Owing to previous troubles connected with the anti-Japanese riots and boycott in 1919 the authorities of the International Settlement of Shanghai have had in force a regulation prohibiting the holding of parades or political gatherings

inside the foreign area. Disregarding these well-known regulations the students started their agitation by lecturing on busy street corners and distributing literature attacking foreign imperialists. It is now generally believed that the students selected Saturday afternoon owing to its being a half-holiday when most of the city officials are absent from their offices.

The police on duty at a station (known as the Louza Police Station) in the centre of the retail shopping district arrested a number of these students and lodged them in gaol on a charge of violating the municipal ordinances. The students, assisted by loafers and curiosity seekers numbering about two thousand, then attempted to storm the city gaol and release those who had been arrested. Finally, when the police could no longer hold the crowd in check, they gave the order to fire. Nine were killed and several wounded.

This had the effect of inflaming the whole Chinese population into a general anti-foreign outburst so that it became necessary for the foreign residents of Shanghai to rally to the defence of the city, and a few days later it was necessary for the local Consular Body to ask for foreign naval protection to prevent the entire city from being taken over by the mobs. During the disorder of the next few days several more Chinese were killed and numbers of foreigners, including one American, were wounded by missiles and by sniping.

The Chinese merchants in Shanghai assisted in the strike by closing up all of their shops and banking institutions for a period of practically two weeks.

Incidents in other parts of China which have been mentioned in press reports are quite similar to that at Shanghai. In Hankow a Chinese mob attempted to storm the armoury in the British Concession, and it was necessary for the local volunteers, assisted by foreign marines, to fire in order to prevent the building being taken over by rioters.

In Canton as a parade of Chinese organized as a protest against the Shanghai incident was marching past Shameen, the foreign Concession, Chinese student cadets, officered by Russians, loaned to the Canton radical Government by Moscow, opened fire without warning on the foreign Concession, killing one foreigner and wounding four, including a woman.

In Kiukiang, a town on the Yangtze River between Hankow and Shanghai, the rioters took possession of the foreign Concession and looted the foreign buildings, including the Japanese and British Consulates, and burning the Japanese bank. All communication between Kiukiang and the local summer resort of Kuling, containing more than 600 foreign women and children, was cut off.

At the town of Chingkiang, near Shanghai, on the lower Yangtze River, mobs also took possession of the foreign Concession and looted the Municipal Building, burning the furniture in the streets.

In Chungking, on the upper Yangtze, it was necessary for all British and Japanese residents to be removed to ships in the river.

The Soviet system of fomenting industrial anarchy is simple and everywhere conforms to type. It can only be carried out under Chinese official patronage, is everywhere artificial, subsides wherever "nationalist" control is lost, and everywhere involves the expenditure of much ready money, the wages of trouble makers often being quoted in "roubles." Groups of trained agitators, well-paid ruffians, invade industrial premises and insist upon the formation of a "union," with themselves as officers, and upon a strike. Timid employees are shown that the addresses of their families are catalogued and therefore walk out, fearing persecution. "Demands" of such an absurd character that no employer could possibly consider them are then formulated for them and are published in the name of the Unions. This keeps them out until they are at the point of starvation. Chinese under foreign employ are invariably a hundred per cent. better off than in native employ. They will always fight for a chance to become the foreigner's servants. But once reduced to starvation they can readily be persuaded that they are the victims of gross injustice and can be taught mob slogans and mob tactics. Sentimental sympathizers with Russian-led rioters have crippled the efficiency of both Chinese and

foreign police in every important city in China, so that the rowdy element is convinced of its divine right to riot, loot and destroy. The murder of watchmen and foremen is now a legitimate political enterprise which it would be tyranny to suppress.

Feng Yü-hsiang, representing Russian interests and controlling the recognized Government of Peking, was defeated by a Northern coalition, under Marshals Chang Tso-lin and Wu Pei-fu, in the spring and summer of 1926. He fled to Moscow, many of his subordinates found their way to Russia, and others contrived to get to Canton and take refuge under the Red regime for which Chiang Kai-shek was then the major military sponsor, with General Galen (Blucher) directing his operations, and Jacob Borodin, of many aliases, the political guiding spirit.

Sun Yat-sen, from 1921 up to the time of his death in Peking, was obsessed by the idea of an expedition against the North. After his death the Red exploiters of his reputation canonized him in precisely the

hopelessly defeated. Yet by the middle of June, a very respectable southern force from Kuangtung and Kuangsi was pouring into Hunan to Tang Sheng-chih's support. The southern army was never large, never had adequate artillery support and was exceedingly shabby as compared with even the feeblest northern units. The Whampoa Cadets, Russian trained and led, however, had instilled into all southern units a spirit entirely new to Chinese military units. In July, 1926, two Cantonese divisions and two Kuangsi divisions, all of doubtful quality, were moving northward through Hunan, while other equally doubtful forces were entering Kiangsi from the rail-head at Shaokuan. The betting was everywhere against these forces, but they had taken Changsha, Hunan's capital, by July 12 and had started 20,000 men towards the Yangtze River on a movement which has since proved overwhelming.

At the end of August, Wu Pei-fu, who had to Hankow to take command of the heterogeneous his bit in the crushing of Feng Yü-

more than serious skirmishes. The fight against Wu Pei-fu outside Wuchang at the beginning of September and the taking of Nanchang, Kiangsi, at the end of the same month, may have cost the South a few hundred lives. The occupation of most important districts was certainly due much more to expert propaganda and intimidation than to actual military operations. Before, with and behind every military unit under southern leadership, moved the bill-posters, agitators, student organizers, coolie trouble-makers, strike fomenters and political organizers trained in Russia.

The Evil Inspiration

As things grow more obscure and all restrained opinion is swept into the maelstrom of bad feeling by Red ruffianism, it must be finally asserted that no decent Occidental has, throughout all this turmoil, ever been anti-Chinese. The behaviour of the northern bandits during the past year could, quite legitimately, be described as hellish. The

SPECIMENS OF THE "NATIONALIST" ARMY WHICH SEEKS TO DOMINATE CHINA



A PATROL OF RED SOLDIERS WHO RECENTLY ARRIVED IN HANKOW



A CANTONESE RED OFFICER ON A SZECHUEN PONY

same fashion that Lenin has been canonized in Russia, making his will and his picture the objects of formal adoration in especially dedicated halls. His "Three Popular Principles," a childish garble of elementary economics, was made the Kuomintang Bible and his anti-North expedition was made to appear as a holy crusade.

Russian Arms and Money

Throughout the Winter of 1925-26, Kuangtung and Kuangsi Provinces were cleared of anti-Kuomintang forces and made to feel the disciplinary power of Chiang Kai-shek's modern military organization. Russian arms and money were liberally used and Russian advisers were everywhere in evidence. In March, 1926, the first symptom of a northward movement was manifest in the anti-foreignism of General Tang Sheng-chih of southern Hunan. A movement against the North then started but failed, and, in May, 1926, it appeared that the "Nationalists" in Hunan were

hsiang's Red army in and about Peking, rushed out northern forces facing the Cantonese. Within a few days he was a hopelessly defeated refugee. His commanders were bought, the pay of his soldiers had been misappropriated, the Reds had saturated the Wu-Han community with "nationalist" propaganda, and Wu Pei-fu took over a thoroughly demoralized force. He fled from Hankow, September 6, 1926, with a few trainloads of bodyguards, and the Reds took the Hankow area after very inexpensive fighting. Kiangsi was taken from Marshal Sun within a month, Anhwei was bought and surrendered, Fukien fell readily and Chekiang was occupied in February. March has seen the capture of Shanghai and Nanking and the collapse, not only of General Sun Chuan-fang, China's greatest modern strategist, with a large staff of German-trained experts, but also of the notorious Shantung chief, Chang Tsung-ch'ang, with his countless hordes of hard-fighting bandits who are, beyond cavil, China's finest fighting material.

In the whole campaign there were never

carefully calculated persecutions of foreigners in Canton, Wuchow, Swatow, Hengchow, Changsha, Nanchang, Kiukiang, Ichang, Changteh, Hankow, Foochow, Wuhu, Chinkiang, Nanking, Ningpo, Hangchow, and a dozen other places that we might mention at random, have been simply unspeakably rotten. Yet there are no foreigners who "hate" the Chinese as the miserable lower orders of the latter are taught to hate the foreigner. The average foreigner has a respect and liking for the Chinese which no amount of organized bad treatment will quite wipe out. When the most amiable and kindly people in the world become, under alien tuition, highly truculent and barbarous over night, we naturally look abroad for the evil inspiration. China will have to account for some of these hideous displays of folly as she has accounted for the Boxer orgy; but the greater responsibility will eventually be placed elsewhere, and, if there is any justice in the universe, we shall finally resume our normal commerce with the Chinese people without ill feeling or reproach.

Depredations by Soldiers and Bandits

Over Two Million Armed Men Who Contribute Nothing to the Nation's Welfare

Red endeavour in China has contributed conspicuously to the demoralization of the country and is serving now to discredit China internationally; but sight must never be lost of the fact that the ruthless military, with their kindred the bandits, have paved the way for Bolshevism by reducing the country to misery and distraction. It is estimated—and there can be no accurate count—that there are now 1,900,000 men in China in uniform who, therefore, have some right to call themselves soldiers, but who contribute nothing to the maintenance of domestic peace and would be utterly worthless for national defence in a serious war with a first-class Power. Besides these there are some hundreds of thousands of bandits, made up of various classes of the homeless. Some are ex-soldiers who will not return to civilian life, many are peasants who have been ruined by soldier depredations and who have turned outlaws in sheer desperation, others (probably a small minority) are naturally vicious characters whose criminal instincts find an easy outlet in robbery, murder and rapine in these troubled times; and others still are bold and courageous men in revolt against misgovernment who would be sturdy citizens of a reputable China. In a country where the boundary between reasonable prosperity and wretched poverty can be obliterated by the failure of a single crop or a few days' unemployment, the burdens which the military put upon the peasant and merchant, with their interruption of communications, lootings and exactions, are indeed insufferable; and it is very hard to give an understanding of the depth of misery to which soldier-ridden communities are reduced when the bandits come in the wake of the military and set about their robbery and rape, murder and arson. Banditry, as a perennial institution which the military fail utterly to cope with, is now established in Honan, Shantung, northern Kiangsu, northern Anhwei, north-western Hupeh, Shensi, extra-mural Shansi, Szechuan, Fukien, Kuangtung, Kuangsi, Yunnan, Kueichow, Hunan, Heilungchiang and Kirin, and is likely to break out sporadically in any prefecture in China. The soldier curse is a burden on the trade of every district from one end of the country to the other. Disbandment of troops would be possible under the control of an overwhelmingly powerful army only, or in a state of complete economic prostration. The rescue of China from this hideous persecution by the armed coolie and the silk-clad commander who exploits his cruelties is an obligation devolving upon the civilized world which cannot much longer be shirked.

MODERN BANDITRY IN HONAN

Who are the Bandits? A System Inextricably Interwoven with the Life of the People: Professional and Amateur Groups

By a Special Correspondent of the "North-China Daily News."

To answer the question "Who are the bandits?" would have been very much easier in the days of the Empire than it is at the present time. Then the matter might, with fair accuracy, have been dismissed by the statement that bandits are those who have taken to highway robbery as a permanent profession. Since the advent of the Republic, however, banditry has so tremendously increased, not only in the number of those who are engaged in it, but in scope, scale and the methods of operation, that to arrive at a comprehensive understanding of the various elements that go to make up the total personnel of all those now engaged in it requires some considerable analysis.

At the outset it should be emphasized that the analysis here attempted is confined solely to banditry as to-day carried on within the province of Honan. In other provinces banditry has also tremendously increased since the Empire fell, but the development has varied according to different conditions in different parts of the country and many of the facts mentioned here would not be applicable to, for instance, the "Red Beards" of the north.

A Regular System

It must also be pointed out that by bandits are meant those who are, at any one time, engaged in the actual business of banditry, because the personnel of those who live by robbery is constantly changing, not from year to year or month to month, but almost from day to day. Banditry to-day, as far as the individual is concerned, has of necessity become an occasional occupation.

While changed conditions have afforded increasing opportunity for operations on a wholesale basis, they have, at the same time, interfered with the steady continuance of professional robbing. Banditry is no longer a mere profession. It has become a system—a system involving thousands besides those who actually "hold the pistol to the victim's head"; a system inextricably interwoven with the conditions of democracy which the people of China have enjoyed since a number of their "advanced thinkers" succeeded in demolishing the worm-eaten structure of Manchu domination for the benefit of them all. The "old established professional whose business had been in the family for years" has been forced to join the "combine" and can no longer carry on uninterruptedly as an independent. At times conditions in the locality where he carries on operations may put a temporary stop to his robbing. Also on occasions he finds it convenient, profitable or expedient to parade under a new flag, and it is perhaps no exaggeration to say that there are scarcely any of the out and out professionals who have not at some time been further demoralized by one or more periods of service in the military "forces of the Republic."

Traditions, Customs and Law

Still, in tabulating the identity of those who are at present engaged in banditry, we may well begin with the out and out professionals who have their homes in the region which is the cradle of banditry among the mountains of western Honan. Though they have, from time to time, turned their hands to other

occupations they are still, first, last and always, bandits who, no matter what the lapses from "business" may be, will always return, in the end, to the trade of their fathers, in one form or another. They have their bandit traditions, customs, law and language; from the nucleus of the bandit armies that, from time to time, go forth on tours of plunder and, if so dignified a term may be used in such a connexion, are the thoroughbreds among the more numerous pariahs that yap about them, ape their ways and accept their leadership. Their numbers have been greatly increased in the past few years. Youths of adventurous natures have, for various reasons, taken to banditry, have eventually become identified with the bandit community and definitely adopted the profession of robbery as a permanent means of livelihood. They learn to speak the bandit language; conform to bandit laws and customs, and adopt their ways of life, and, if they are not themselves of bandit origin, they are, none the less, declared and recognized professionals, and will raise families of "bred in the bone" little bandits to carry on in the next generation.

The Amateur Brigade

These above mentioned robbers may be considered in a group by themselves which we will call the "professional" group. Another element among present day brigands may be called the "amateur" group. They are those of various classes of society, in various walks of life, who take to robbery from time to time as opportunity may offer. They are, for the most part, already bad characters, ready to take a hand in any sort of devilment that would seem to advance their interests in any way. Some of them may drift into closer association with the "regulars" and eventually become permanent members of the "professional group," though many will come out in their true colours only when special opportunity makes

it fairly safe and may, if they happen to fall into satisfactory and permanent jobs, drop banditry altogether. The sources of their origin are many and among them are to be found some of the lowest and most bestial types among all the robbers in Honan, since some of their motives for taking to the life are of the basest.

Roughly summed up, the "amateurs" may be said to include:—Local bad characters who take advantage of the presence of any bandit army to rob with impunity on the outskirts, or who join themselves to the army for a period of time; camp-following scavengers who curry favour with the bandits and, lacking the courage themselves to rob by force, pick up what they can that the bandits leave behind; adventurous and thoughtless youths who temporarily accompany the bandit raiders with no idea of permanently turning to robbery as a means of livelihood; captives who find favour in the eyes of their guards and, on their expressed desire, are eventually enrolled in the ranks of the bandits; soldiers who turn to banditry for short periods of time and for various reasons; and, lastly, soldiers who, openly, follow no other calling but who, in plain clothes, slip out of barracks at night, alone or in groups, and commit atrocities and robberies. This "amateur group" includes by far the majority of all those engaged in banditry at any one time and usually constitutes between two-thirds and three-fourths of any raiding bandit army in full swing. Some of them may return home with the original raiders and become out and out "professionals," but for the most part they seem to break up and scatter when a raid comes to an end, and may or may not take to banditry again at some later time when the opportunity again seems good.

Associate Members

There is one more general group which we may call the "associate"

bandits. In general they are, like most of the "amateurs," recruited, in the first instance, by bandit armies on the march, but by force and not of their own free will. In other words they are forced to serve the bandits in various ways and become, for the time being, really, though unwillingly, members of the bandit army. Among these may be found doctors, carpenters, blacksmiths, mechanics, etc. The reason for their enforced association with the bandits is obvious when it is considered that there are thousands in the army, with hundreds of horses to be kept shod, guns and other equipment to be kept in repair and various wounds and other injuries to be attended to. The bandits are, therefore, always on the lookout for trained men such as they may need who, willy-nilly, are enrolled in the "professional corps" of the army. These, however, are on quite a different footing from others that the bandits carry off with them as captives. While virtually prisoners, they are, so to speak, on parole, with freedom to go about as they please so long as they do not attempt to escape, and they are also permitted to steal as they like, and are, altogether, treated quite as fellow bandits so long as they "play the game." Most of these "associate bandits," having a special means of livelihood to which they can always turn, probably dissociate themselves from banditry as soon as they safely may, but, according to the testimony of those who have had an opportunity to observe, some of them are not at all dissatisfied with their lot, which enables them to bountifully lay up for themselves treasures here, if not hereafter, in perfect safety, since they always have an effective *alibi* if ever accused of being bandits.

Certain Important Factors

The above completes the general list of the thousands in Honan who have recently combined to plunder their fellow citizens, and we may pass on to the question of "Why are these men so occupied?" It would at first appear that in doing so we have to deal primarily with personal motives; the reasons which have induced so many to become bandits, and, therefore, with a purely personal problem. But there is another factor which enters in, viz., opportunity, which concerns prevailing conditions and is distinctly a social and political problem. The matter of opportunity is far and away the chief factor in accounting for the tremendous increase in organized armed robbery that has come about in the past few years. The bandits themselves recognize this and, refusing to take any personal responsibility whatever for their acts, establish a perfect "alibi," to their own satisfaction, by blaming it all on "the times."

In arriving at an analysis of the various motives that act as the impelling forces in the creation of bandits we may refer back to the three general groups into which the personnel of all the bandits has, for convenience, been divided, viz., the "professionals," "amateurs" and "associates." With the last we have nothing to do here, since that group, not having taken to banditry of their own volition, have not been influenced in the matter of first becoming bandits by any motive, and the professionals may also be quickly disposed of. It required no particular motive to induce those born of bandit parents to become bandits, since they themselves consider that they have never been anything else, and their stepping out into active robbery at the appointed time was

actuated by nothing more than that which induces any youth to take up, at a suitable age, his place in the business of life. There is, however, a motive behind the new methods they have adopted of sallying forth in armies for wholesale plunder instead of sticking to conservative highway robbery as their fathers did before them. They have developed a philosophy of their own which thoroughly justifies their conduct, in their own eyes, not only because "everybody's doing it," but as a righteous protest against the rottenness of the times.

Black Sheep of the Province

As to those who have joined the "professional" ranks in their own persons the motives in most cases probably coincide with those which concern the "amateurs" and they may, in this analysis, be considered with that group. At the same time many of them are "black sheep" from the more educated and wealthier classes, and the impelling influences in most of their cases may very probably have been lawless ambition, lust for adventure or a desire to escape from a position of financial ruin and social ostracism brought about by gambling, excessive indulgence in opium and general evil and riotous living. So in our search for motives we will be chiefly confined to the "amateurs" and they will be considered separately under the six sub-divisions of that group.



AN EXAMPLE OF THE WHOLESALE RUIN WHICH THE BANDITS LEAVE IN THEIR TRAIL

Who and Why Are the Bandits?

The first sub-division of the "amateur" group of bandits referred to comprises "local" bad characters who take advantage of the presence of any bandit "army" to rob, with impunity, on the outskirts or who actually join themselves to the raiding bandits for a period of time. The essential point in connexion with this lot is that they are already morally prepared to prey upon their neighbours and require only a suitable opportunity to put their desires into practice. Some of them may even already have dabbled in intermittent robbery when special opportunities presented themselves, but, as soon as a bandit army occupies their locality, they may at once extend their operations and, by banding together, may even take to sacking villages on the outskirts of the bandit headquarters. They may do this continuously and openly with comparative impunity so long as they do not wander too far from their professional protectors. Operating in a country temporarily paralyzed by fear of the bandits, who are known to be near at hand in force, they need fear no opposition

at the hands of their victims and, being, more or less, recognized by the professional bandits as in the fraternity, they have only to withdraw nearer to the centre of "army occupation" whenever threatened by armed forces of soldiers or others. They are distinctly opportunists who, though not actually of the invaders, work in at least co-operation with them, and their primary motive is undoubtedly one of greed, coupled, in many cases, with a desire to satisfy their carnal appetites through unchecked indulgence in debauchery and dissipation at no expense to themselves.

The Motive of Revenge

But among those who act singly and, as a rule, associate themselves with the main bandit force, other motives are apparent. One that would never have suggested itself to me, but which I have learned is not at all infrequent, is that of revenge. A man has an enemy who he would gladly kill if he could and dared. The bandit army threatens the place where the object of his hate resides. He quickly offers his services to the bandits, volunteering to give them all the information which he has concerning the country and the financial circumstances of the inhabitants, and when the town in particular is raided he sees to it that his enemy is not among the survivors, and the more wealthy and powerful this victim may be the more

Each knows where he can lay his hands on a goodly sum of money if the place is sacked, and hastens to put himself into a position to safely do so when the time comes. There are still others who are actuated by moral and physical cowardice coupled by a total disregard of their neighbour's welfare. When the home town of such a one is in imminent danger of attack he knows that every citizen within the walls is in equally imminent danger of coming to a sudden and violent, as well as painful, end in the very near future, but he secretly vows that he will take jolly good care to save his own skin whatever may happen to the others and, watching his opportunity, sneaks over the wall and hies him to the bandits with a price to offer. It is more than probable that he will be welcome for the sake of the information he is able to give, and he becomes an "amateur" bandit for the time being.

These sons of Judas are some of the "amateur" brigands who earlier in this article were referred to as the "lowest and most bestial types among all the robbers in Honan." They are only prepared to join in with the brigands in their programme of rapine and murder, but are ready to save themselves from the chance of maltreatment by the bandits, if their town should be sacrificing those among whom they have been born and brought up and by whom they have been treated as friends and neighbours for the whole of their lives, at the same time assuring a bandit visit to their "home town" through the information they give concerning it. There are said to be many of them.

The Jackals

Others of their ilk belong to the next sub-group of the amateurs, being the "camp-following scavengers who curry favour with the bandits and, lacking the courage, themselves, to rob by force, pick up what they can that the bandits may leave behind." Many of them have been beggars, and hungry greed is probably the chief motive that has impelled them to follow the bandits. Mr. Anton Lundeen holds one specimen up to view in the chronicle of his experiences as follows:—"Here is an awkward-looking fellow, feeling around everywhere, pulling out drawers and opening doors. Surely there is no bravery in him. He is here to get what the real bandits leave behind. 'Oh, how I would like to find some 50 dollars. Then I would return home, satisfied,' he mutters." These servile, cringing human degenerates are despised and abused, though tolerated, by the bandits, but are always to be found slinking about in every bandit army and are, perhaps, the foulest and most loathsome example of degraded manhood brought to light by present-day banditry.

Out for Adventure

We have next to consider the "adventurous and thoughtless youths who temporarily accompany the bandit raiders with no idea of permanently turning to robbery as a means of livelihood." From the repeated testimony of eye-witnesses there are many such and it may be no exaggeration to say that half the personnel of any bandit army on raid is made up of boys under 20 years of age. The first inspiration to rise up in their young strength and, in one bound, attain to full-fledged, dominant manhood, was probably innocent of any intention to

easily is his revenge obtained. Here again is a case of satisfied desire with perfect immunity from unpleasant consequences as, in the general slaughter, the death of the particular object of his interest should attract no special attention, and the most that could be said, in any case, is that "the bandits have done it."

I have been told on the best of authority that many an old score and ancient grudge has been settled in this way, and when it is considered that there are many reasons other than hate why one person may ardently desire the death of another, e.g., the man who holds the mortgage on his property, or to whom he owes a stupendous gambling debt, or, again, of someone who is in possession of some damning secret, it will be readily apparent that there are probably a good many of this type of temporary bandit.

Sons of Judas

Desire for relief from anxiety due to financial pressure is also said to have forced many into temporary lawlessness. A merchant has had a reverse which leaves him perilously near to the brink of ruin or an accountant has falsified the books.

start in on a career of bloody crime and bestial debauchery. But among such companions and in such surroundings they very quickly become hardened, and mere youthful exuberance of spirits and the joy of excitement is soon replaced by cruel, murderous brutality and lust for replete indulgence of animal passions. It is said that some of the most atrocious acts of cold-blooded cruelty are committed by the younger element among the bandits and it seems probable that most of the young chaps who "join up" for fun eventually become case hardened criminals for the rest of their lives.

There are also a large number of youths among the next sub-group of "captives who find favour in the eyes of their guards and, on their expressed desire, are eventually enrolled in the ranks of the bandits." It is perhaps only natural that the younger captives might more easily get on good terms with their captors, and also take more readily to the life that they lead, than those of maturer years, and terrible tales are also told of the deeds of young bandits who have been "promoted" from the ranks of the captives. Doubtless the various motives which induced them to take such a step include all that have previously been mentioned. But there can scarcely be any question that the instinct of self-preservation gave rise to the first conscious impulse that led to the determination to be identified with the robbers rather than with the captives if possible. They have at least this in their favour, and doubtless many captives who deliberately schemed from the very outset to get in with the bandits as sworn comrades did so, primarily, as a means to an end, and with the secret intention of escaping altogether at the first suitable opportunity.

Soldiers Turned Bandits

This completes the list of "amateur" bandits from among the civilian population and brings us to the important next sub-group of "soldiers who turn to banditry for short periods of time for various reasons." First among these we may consider soldiers enrolled in one of the units of some unfortunate general who has met defeat and (temporarily at least) military extinction at the hands of a rival, and who find themselves, for the time being, unattached to any one of the recognized divisions of the "national army." There are almost certain to be found in any such a unit some who "know the ropes" of banditry. The perfect solution of their sudden problem of unemployment is too obvious to be overlooked. They have retained their arms and ammunition and all other equipment necessary to effective bandit activity. It is, as they know, a safe, quick, and, in the meantime, profitable way of getting back into some strongly established, and therefore recognized, division of the "army," with probable promotion for many of them. Is it surprising that they should hasten to associate themselves with some bandit leader of known repute and join in yet another little rampage of death and destruction across the province?

Then there is the individual soldier who, justly or otherwise, gets his dishonourable discharge. He is "on his own" with nothing but a bad character by way of written recommendation to a new job. There is, at best, but a doubtful chance of his successfully applying for admission to some other division of

"government forces," even though it be in open and active warfare with the one he has just left. He is quite sophisticated in the system whereby the armed portion of the population live on the unfortunate and helpless majority who have no arms—by observation even if he has not done a bit of nimble finger work on his own at times. In casting about in his mind for a new means of livelihood would it not be strange if banditry did present itself for consideration? True, there are some risks in it, but then, the times are such that there is risk in everything. Even the most law-abiding citizen is living under a condition of constant risk, both to life and property, and probably greater than that run by either bandit or soldier. But by way of compensation for risks he is certain of a good living; may even "come into" a snug little "nest egg," and, best of all, it is the most certain way of getting back into the "army" again, and, from the stepping stone of banditry, many rungs on the ladder above that which accommodates recently discharged soldiers. If he plays a strong hand as a bandit he might count on a non-com's stripes next time. Well, figure it out for yourself. What are the chances of his seeking to get under the wing of some progressive bandit chieftain as against seeking some honest job (not too easy to find) which will pay him a bare living wage and in which he will not only be out of the ranks of the spoilers but may even, himself, be victimized, either by bandits or soldiers, at any time. Put yourself in his place.

Fed Up and Fully Primed

Next we may take up the case of the disgruntled soldier. He has not been kicked out, but he sometimes wishes that he had been. His grievance may be due to any one of a number of causes. Perhaps he has not been paid for a long time. He may be one of the illogical ones who considers that he is entitled to pay that has been promised to him even if he does pick up a bit for himself on the side, with the help of his "government" equipment. Or perhaps he is too simple or, as yet, honest to take advantage of his opportunities to collect what is coming to him directly, instead of indirectly, from the tax-payer, who has to foot the bill in the end in any case. Or some nincompoop may have been bounded over his head to a non-com's job when it was really he who deserved the promotion. Or, again, he may have been roundly cursed by some officer when he did not deserve it.

It matters little what really causes his discontent. What does matter is the fact that he is thoroughly fed up (and God knows there is enough wrong going on in China to-day to cause even one of the privileged soldier class to feel fed up) and he is all primed for mutiny, rioting or any other devilment that may afford an outlet for his pent-up feelings. Being in the army he is by no means ignorant of the existence and opportunities of banditry. It is quite probable even that his own unit contains some who have been recruited in bandit "round ups," and who are themselves thoroughly fed up with the humdrum military existence and restless for another session of "play-play" as the ex-bandit soldier designates open banditry. The chances are good that our disgruntled friend may associate himself in the mutinous schemes of some of these new-found friends of previous ex-

perience, and await with them a suitable opportunity to make a get away. It comes, and away they go, with all their arms and a goodly supply of ammunition, to join with others in an armed campaign that will afford the new recruit an opportunity to exercise all his martial abilities in a far livelier field of action than any he has yet experienced.

Soldier and Bandit Both

There remains but one more subdivision of the "amateurs," viz., "soldiers who, openly, follow no other calling, but who (in plain clothes) slip out of barracks at night, alone or in groups, and commit atrocities and robberies." The fact that such soldiers do not openly take up banditry does not alter the fact that their nocturnal activity is armed robbery, pure and simple. Any belated wayfarer is apt to be pounced upon by these disguised "upholders of law and order" and relieved of any of his possessions that may be considered worth taking. And instances are not lacking in which farmsteads, or even villages, are attacked and pillaged.

That the practice not only goes on, but is a matter of nightly occurrence in certain sections at certain times (depending upon what military force is in control), is no mere open secret, but a universally known fact. It is no uncommon thing to find fresh corpses (half eaten by dogs) lying in the fields less than a mile away from the walls of almost any garrisoned city in central Honan. They are not the remains of murdered citizens, for such always receive decent burial as soon as found, but those of soldiers on "night duty," in plain clothes, on whom the tables have been turned by some of their intended victims or who have fallen into a trap set by the local "Red Spears," and left untouched by any to be food for dogs as a mark of supreme contempt. The question may well suggest itself as to why soldiers are permitted the opportunity to carry on this criminal business. But the answer does not belong here. It comes under the subject of just that (i.e. "opportunity") which is the chief factor in the explanation of why so many thousands have become bandits in the last few years.

A COWARDLY MURDER

Kueihuating, Aug. 16.

Thursday, August 12, at 10.30 a.m. the Reverend Father Camille Ruyffelaert, coming from Heou-ba, with a dozen student-priests was attacked by brigands. One student was killed by a shot and the missionary mortally wounded. He was carried to the mission house at Kang Fang-ingtse, where he died a few moments afterwards.

MAD SHOOTING AT CANTON

Hongkong, Sept. 3.

A message from Canton states that recently there has been much indiscriminate firing at passenger and cargo boats running to and from Hongkong and Canton and at river steamers off Shameen by strike pickets.

The American gunboat Sacramento was recently hit by a bullet.

The Canton Government appears to be powerless to prevent this lawlessness.—Reuter.

ANARCHY ON THE YANGTZE

Shanghai, Sept. 11.

Ichang is for the time being isolated so far as communications with

down river is concerned. Steamers for the last four days have ceased running, and during the summer months mails come only by steamers. The China Merchants Kweilee went down several days ago, and got as far as just below Chien Li, when she was signalled to stop. A boat with officers from Yie Kai Hsing's forces went aboard and told the comprador to come ashore. He did so and had to pay up \$6,800, before they would free him. The ship then returned to Ichang. The comprador did not divulge the fact that the ship was carrying Tls. 25,000 in silver, and no doubt the soldiers were sorry they did not search the ship. They seemingly were short of money to pay the troops and this being a Chinese ship they considered they had a right to take what they needed. The B. & S. Tungting also tried the trip down but had to return to Ichang. It is said that the Scarab is going to escort several British boats past the dangerous area on their upward trip and take others down. No Chinese passengers are allowed to travel on British ships for the present.

SOLDIER SABOTAGE

Ichang, Sept. 25.

The Wantung arrived in Ichang to-day, when an inspection of the ship revealed the damage that can be done by an undisciplined mob. Practically everything that could be carried off has been stolen, and what remains has received much damage. Doors are smashed open, brass work and finishings of the cabins and saloon wrenched away. The saloon is stripped bare, upholstered seats cut open. Destruction, wanton in its wickedness everywhere, all shows evidence of fiendish hatred and desire for revenge.

The ships plying between here and Hankow are still being fired on and native passenger traffic is practically stopped, but the ships, much to the credit of their officers, keep running fairly regularly, and a good deal of cargo is moving.

FOREIGN SHIPS SEIZED

Ichang, Sept. 30.

Ships on the Upper Yangtze are being commandeered by the military irrespective of nationality: for instance, the str. Wanhien (British) brought down 500 soldiers, the str. Hing (American) brought down 250 soldiers, the str. Shuhun (French) brought down 500 soldiers and the str. Kweilee is said to have taken 2,000 down to Shansi.

All Chungking steamers are held up here for the present as it is certain that if they go up they will be commandeered at Wanhien and sent back with troops.—Reuter.

AMERICAN HOSTAGES

Peking, Oct. 4.

A delayed despatch from Changsha, dated September 29, which has just reached the American Legation, reports the capture of three American missionaries by bandits at Maliwan, West Hunan, namely, Mr. Cal Beck and Minerva Weil, both of the Reformed Church, and Mr. Lewis Koebbe of the Evangelist Church. The State Department has been informed and steps are being taken to secure the release of the captured missionaries.—Reuter.

FRENCH NAVY DEFIED

Ichang, Oct. 15.

Captain Robbe of the French gunboat stationed up here had an

interview with General Yang Sen, when the latter promised he would not molest, delay or use ships flying the French flag. The very next day two steamers flying the French flag arrived at Wanhien from Chungking and were instantly filled with soldiers for Ichang, one ship being loaded down a foot below the water mark.

Under Pain of Death

Seeing this, Captain Robbe notified the Captain of the str. Shuhung (French flag), which was loaded with cargo for Wanhien and sailing next day, that if he met a French steamer carrying troops he was to turn back to Ichang. The Captain did see a French steamer carrying troops and he gave the order to the quarter-master to turn, when instantly two men appeared at his side, each holding two revolvers, an argument that ended in the ship being taken on to Wanhien, where she was filled with troops and sent back to Ichang.

MANCHURIA AMOK

Shanghai, Oct. 25.

The Hunghutze on the Upper Sungari are becoming most active again, according to the latest reports. Their frequent depredations are due to the fact that many farmers are returning with money after having sold their grain. Not so long ago, bands of Hunghutze launched an attack on one of the river landing places some 65 miles from Harbin and help was summoned from here. A river gunboat was sent as well as a couple of barges loaded with soldiers and it was only after a hard and long fight that the bandits were dispersed, leaving many dead behind and quite a lot of arms and ammunition as well.

COLD BLOODED KILLING

Ichang, Nov. 18.

A particularly dastardly murder was committed here last night. A native cook was returning to his home about 8.30, and met a soldier, said to be a Szechuanese, at a place just on the outskirts of the city near the golf course, who asked him if he had any money. He replied that he had 500 cash and handed it over. The soldier walked away for a short distance, then returned and deliberately shot the man in the abdomen. He was carried to the Mission Hospital but died the next morning.

Hangchow, Nov. 27.

The town of Tonglu experienced a striking example of present day military rowdiness last evening. For some time past boatloads of retreating soldiers have arrived at this river port en route for Hangchow. Boats have been requisitioned and the convoy made up ready to be towed by launch the following morning. For some reason or other a bunch of men were disgruntled at what they deemed lack of attention on the part of the river police. One member of this corps was knocked down and others were maltreated. To avoid further punishment, they made off, at the run, to their headquarters, followed by these yelling braves. The chief officer, on hearing the commotion, came out and, realizing the serious turn of events, immediately offered to meet any demands these northern soldiers had to make. The men were obdurate and truculent and were out for blood.

While the official was pleading peace, he was shot dead.

"THINGS CAN'T BE WORSE"

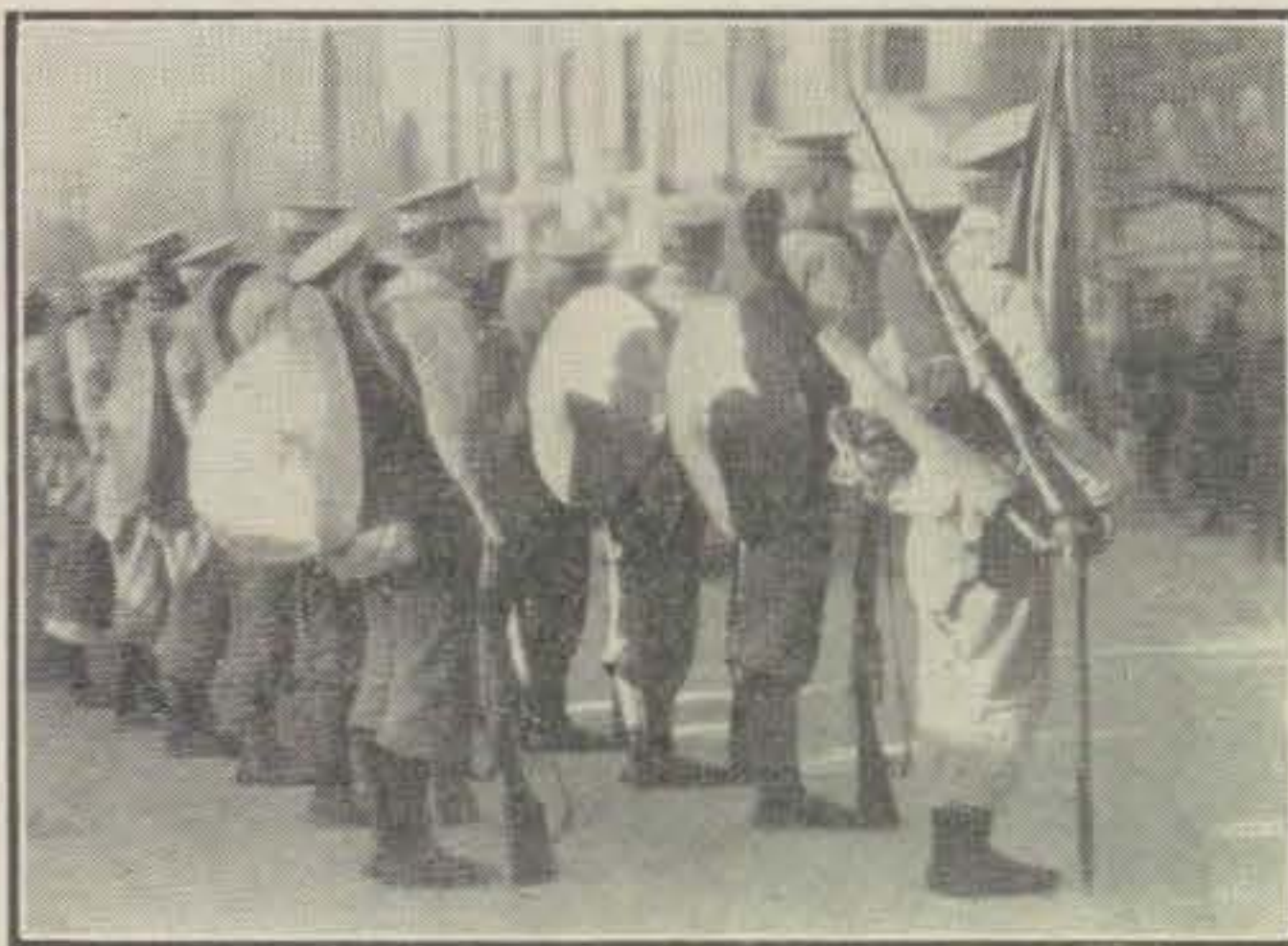
Paoingfu, Jan. 5.

The city, and especially the west suburb, is suffering from the military pest. The soldiers harassing the place now are the Mukden hordes, who are passing through on their way south. Most of them camp here for the night, and many stay for several days at a stretch.

These troops are tramping overland from the north to the south and their method is as follows: An advance agent visits the residents

and appends a notice on the door stating how many and which troops are to occupy the house. In the evening, the soldiers arrive and proceed to occupy the desirable parts of the premises. In most cases among the poor this means that the only available beds and bedding are taken. Then the residents are ordered to prepare food and drink for the soldiers. The ordinary fare of a poor family is spurned by the soldiers as not being fit for the noble "defenders"

TYPES OF CHINESE SOLDIERS WHO TURN BRIGANDS AT THE FIRST OPPORTUNITY



SOME OF THE RUSSIAN-TRAINED CANTONESE TROOPS



CANTON TROOPS EQUIPPED WITH SUN HATS



A CHINESE STRETCHER BEARER

of the home, and the family is ordered to prepare first-class food with meat. Even the cigarettes smoked by the poorer class will not do, and the very best grade of cigarette is demanded. All this without pay, of course, on the part of the Chinese soldiers.

We know of one incident where a mother and father and their four children were driven from their home by the soldiers on a very cold night.

They sought shelter with a neighbour, who could give them house room, but no covers. They kept a small stove going all night to keep them from freezing, and as a result the two smallest children were gassed to death, and the two other children and the mother spent three days in the mission hospital, recovering from the effects of the gas.

Every part of the home is rummaged by the soldiers, who take whatever they want. Then the householder is forced to sign a paper for each soldier on his departure stating that nothing has been taken from the house by him and that his conduct has been exemplary.

In one case, however, an officer inquired of a householder if the soldiers had asked for anything, and was told that they had asked for flour, whereupon the officer had the soldiers beaten. But after these troops had left, four soldiers returned and beat up the householder who had informed. As a result of this, there have been no more reportings in the neighbourhood, although there are very few cases where the soldiers pay for anything.

These troops are veritable human leeches, sucking the lifeblood of the people, all of which reflects upon the intelligence of their leaders. How can an army expect to win in a country where all the people are against them? One hears on every hand, "Things can't be worse, no matter who comes."—"Peking & Tientsin Times"

VILLAGE WIPED OUT

Peking, Jan. 11.

A private message from Shantung records a terrible massacre by bandits.

Villagers at Wangchipao, 50 miles to the east of the birthplace of Confucius, Chufu, actively opposed some bandits who, awaiting reinforcements, surrounded the village and set fire to it. They slaughtered all the villagers without respect for age or sex. Some were burned to death in their homes and others were shot in attempting to escape. Small children were pulled to pieces.

The inhabitants, numbering 1,000, were entirely exterminated.—Reuter.

ANOTHER EXTERMINATION

Choutsun, Shantung, Feb. 8.

On January 25 the inhabitants of a village in Lin-chü country, about 20 miles to the south of Tsingchowfu, were visited by 50 or 60 armed robbers. Those who escaped fled to the hills; some 20 odd were taken captive, four were killed and many of the houses set on fire. The Chinese Pastor who gave us the news had his own house and its contents burnt to ashes. Various ways of torturing the captives were resorted to, such as throwing cold water over their half-naked bodies. Many of the bandits come from that district, and for over a year people have been afraid to travel in that area.

Samples of the Quality of Nationalism

Official Patronage of Anti-foreign Persecution which follows in the Wake of the Reds

Many of the excesses to which "Nationalist" mobs and labour organizations have been instigated by professional agitators have been merely absurd, but others have been barbarous and criminal. Whatever the character of the demonstration, the spirit displayed has too often been that of bitter, unreasoning anti-foreign prejudice. There may be in rare individuals among the "Nationalists" a genuine passion for domestic reform, but if it exists it is not made manifest. What is most conspicuous in every district under Red control is licensed violence, official patronage of the criminal elements in the population and official encouragement of anti-foreign persecution.

Any patriotic motives with which the "Nationalists" might be credited by sympathizers is obscured by the disgusting savagery of the students and soldiers, strikers and pickets, and by their all-too-common interest in loot. A serious minded study of industrial strikes in search of economic justification must be abandoned in despair when the agitators make their Russian affiliations abundantly clear, and resort, as in Shanghai, to cold-blooded murder of foremen and watchmen. The anti-foreign character of "Nationalism" loses all dignity and becomes simply puerile when the intellectual sponsors of the movement confess that the foreigner is hated because, by virtue of treaty safeguards, he does not share the wretchedness of the distracted Chinese people, but is even able at times to afford them protection and relief. The spirit of the movement, as manifested in propaganda, diplomacy and mob action, is destructive and malevolent, never hopeful nor constructive. It is intellectual Boxerism, for which it is much harder to find an apology than for the excesses of illiterate coolies and farmers in 1900.

The revolt against northern militarism, which is a widely advertised objective of the movement, would have whole-hearted foreign moral support if there were no suspicion of its genuineness and sincerity. When it becomes obvious, however, that the most disreputable "feudal chiefs" and bandit leaders, with their destructive hordes, have only to change their flags and their allegiance and indulge in persecution of the alien to be dubbed good "Nationalists," the Kuomintang's most sanguine foreign friends have reason to pause and ponder. Whatever "Nationalism" is, the foreigner in China—from the Plenipotentiary down to the small trader and the isolated missionary—has found spleenful, vicious and cruel, a force with which there is no possible compromise and upon which "conciliation" has the effect of an intoxicant.

FREEDOM TO ROT

Canton, Aug. 29.

Since the re-introduction of the opium traffic into Canton by the Kuomintang for revenue purposes, hundreds of young men and women in Canton City alone have become addicted to the drug, it is reported. Not a few school boys and girls have been victims of the habit after enjoying a few "social smokes."

The Kuomintang is allowing opium to be imported from Yunnan at a duty of 38 cents a tael, still reserving to themselves the monopoly for decoction.

It is inexpensive in Canton to cultivate the habit of opium smoking as it costs only 40 cents for eight candareens and about \$5 a tael.

Many young men and women in Canton have sought the "privilege" of associating with Kuomintang military by mixing with their concubines and have become addicted to a drug whose price will rise when the sale of opium is prohibited once more or when the party in office falls from power.

Houses where the Kuomintang leaders and their families smoke do not have to be licensed for inspection, while those who spend their time in opium dens are required to wear a badge, the minimum cost of which is \$10 per annum.—Reuter.

CANTON'S PENAL CODE

Canton, Aug. 29.

As a deterrent to those plotting to effect the rescue of all those Kuomintang leaders now confined at Whampoa and Bocca Tigris by General Chiang Kai-shek, the present Kuomintang chief, General Li Tsai-hsin, the acting Commander-in-Chief of the Kuomintang Army in Canton in the absence of General Chiang, is threatening to execute all prisoners in whose behalf attempts at rescue are being made.

It is stated that an organized plot has been perfected by bandits in the Taiping Mart neighbourhood to assist the political prisoners,

some of whom have been detained for over a year without any semblance of a trial.

Among those now in custody at the forts of Whampoa and Bocca Tigris are General Hsiung Keh-wu, a former Tschun of Szechuan, and General Wu Te-chen, formerly Chief of Police at Canton.

Mr. Sun-fu, acting Mayor of Canton, to whose influence General Wu Te-chen owed his political success for a time, strongly denies the insinuation in Kuomintang circles that he is the power behind the movement at Taiping in behalf of his former colleague.

Friends of Mr. Kwok Min-hing, whom the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang has condemned to be shot as a plotter against the life of the late Mr. Liao Chung-hoi, are appealing against the conviction, but it is not believed that the decision will be reconsidered.—Reuter.

EXERCISING A SOVEREIGN RIGHT

Peking, Sept. 4.

Telegrams from Indo-China report that on September 2 the Cantonese Strike Committee at Tong-hing, Kuangtung, seized the whole of the petroleum stocks of the French Compagnie Franco-Asiatique des Petroles, Haiphong, and announced their intention of selling the stocks by auction.

MEETING "ASPIRATIONS"

Hongkong, Sept. 3.

According to messages from Canton strike pickets recently arrested the Norwegian steamer Escondido within the harbour limits.

The captain went to the strike committee headquarters to find out the reason. After being kept waiting for four hours he was informed that the ship was fined \$15,000 for calling at Hongkong in September of last year.

The occasion of that call was that the man who was then captain

was dying. He was taken to hospital and died the next day. The matter was immediately reported to the strike committee, who said nothing at the time.

They have now revived the affair as a means of extorting money.—Reuter.

THE RED CREED

Shanghai, Sept. 11.

In all Chinese minds, the reiteration of a cherished want seems a complete answer to the soundest argument. Young China wants unqualified autonomy in all things, perfect freedom from foreign checks, guidance or control, over every square inch of what used to be China. These young men want every Chinese in the land to feel the same way about it; and they want to believe that every Chinese does face the foreigner in this frame of mind. They want this to be a national aspiration, recognized as such by their own tormented and bewildered people, as well as by sentimentalists and deluded business men abroad. Any statement of fact that tends to show that this is not strictly so must be wrong; and it is the duty of every young patriot to juggle facts and twist arguments to prove that it's wrong.

CANTON KILLINGS CURTAILED

Canton, Sept. 13.

The reign of terror instituted by the strike pickets some weeks ago was brought to a sudden end when the British gunboats assumed almost two weeks ago the responsibility for keeping peace and order in the harbour of Canton. A large number of rifles had been issued to the strike pickets by the Canton Government, and the pickets had been as free in the use of their firearms as a child with his new popgun. At night time, all of a sudden, bullets would come from every direction, aimed at boats suspected of being destined for the Hongkong steamer. The American cruiser Sacramento was hit one night by two of these

bullets, badly aimed. But more than one bullet found its mark and frequently Chinese were picked out of the river by sailors of foreign men-of-war, and frequently wounds were dressed by foreign naval doctors.

Nor was the firing confined to the night time. On one occasion, an American launch carrying a missionary to the Waichow steamer was obliged to turn back, having been greeted by a fusillade from the shore. A boat flying a German flag, and carrying no Chinese passengers, also reported having been a target for strikers' bullets.

The Culminating Incident

This condition of affairs culminated in the firing on August 28 on a motor-boat which had just left the Customs Wharf with a number of Chinese, mostly women and children, the pickets lying in ambush and shooting to kill, forcing the boat to put back to the wharf, where all the passengers, and one of the owners of the boat, an American citizen, and his Russian driver, were made prisoners. It was then that the British naval authorities decided to step in. Shortly thereafter, gunboats were stationed along the back reach of the Canton River, while other boats took possession of the wharves formerly used by the day and night steamers of the Hongkong, Canton and Macao Steamship Co. British sailors landed and cleared the wharves of all strikers, and removed all the property belonging to the strikers, who for months had maintained dining halls on these wharves.

PICKET GOVERNMENT

Swatow, Sept. 13.

The British navy has been providing some excitement this past week by its faithful dealing with the pickets. A party from H. M. S. Magnolia seized the motor-launch in which the pickets have been accustomed to pursue their daily avocations among the shipping, moored it by the side of the man-of-

war, and sent the occupants ashore. The pickets are also being strictly barred from any of the wharves belonging to British shipping companies. There has been, of course, a howl of indignation from the directly interested parties, and much hard lying. We have been told that the crew of the picket boat were taken on board the Magnolia and beaten for an hour before they were let go, and the latest bulletin was that they were still hanging between life and death. For some obscure reason they elected to go to the English Mission Hospital to get a certificate about their wounds, and I am told that the doctor had very great difficulty in finding any marks to write anything about. They did not give away how they had got "wounded," nor did the doctor then know; so they cannot charge him with conspiracy. One immediate result of this action seems likely to be a tightening up of the boycott. British residents are again being refused the use of rickshas; the compradores have had the screw put on them to refuse to supply them with provisions, and there may be more trouble about servants, who have long been back to work. The pickets have lost face badly, and not unnaturally are very mad; it remains to be seen whether they dominate the situation as much as they think they do. The action against the pickets has been taken in common with Canton; what lies behind it we are waiting to see.

Another Scandal Ended

The head clerk of Messrs. Bradley & Co., who was seized by the pickets, has at last been released. I reported already that orders for his release had been sent from Canton, and had been disregarded. Later they apparently thought it wiser to obey, but took their own way of it. They informed him that orders had come to send him to Canton, where he would in all likelihood be shot; and offered to let him go for \$2,000. He of course had been kept in complete ignorance of the truth, and under threats and torture—an iron chain being twisted tight round his neck—he compounded with them for \$800 and was let out. So ends, for the time at least, what must be regarded as the greatest scandal that stands to the disgrace of the pickets and the Government that tolerates and encourages them; it may be commended to the attention of such as still labour under the delusion that the anti-British boycott is the high-souled expression of the spontaneous indignation of a free people.

PICKETS RESENT CONTROL

Shanghai, Sept. 25.

The Canton Strike Committee are opposing the Kuomintang's proposal that they should submit to some form of reorganization. They are not anxious to have any more members of the Kuomintang associated with them for purely political purposes.

They state that at the beginning the Kuomintang purposely allowed itself to be dissociated in public from the Strike Committee so that the workers might carry all the blame if the movement against the imperialists should result in failure. They go as far as to suggest that it is the members of the Kuomintang who have been co-opted, as it were, on the Strike Committee who have been guilty of terrorizing the helpless and unarmed civilians of Canton.

This is, in effect, the answer which has been given to the suggestion of the Kuomintang Executive Com-

mittee that the strikers should attend a conference with members of the Government Administration in order to introduce reforms into the movement. The Strike Committee say they will reform themselves and improve their organization but apparently they do not want the help of the Kuomintang in this direction.—"Hongkong Daily Press."

THIEVING BY PATRIOTIC STUDENTS

The following are paragraphs from a British Commercial Agent's report, whose head office is in Shanghai:—

Changteh, Hunan, Oct. 17.

Suddenly the smouldering anti-British propaganda broke out into a riot here on the 10th, and with the authorities clearly in sympathy with the boycott committee, ended in a boycott which assumed a violence of form as has hardly had an equal so far in China. All the local British firms have been closed and sealed by the boycotters. The firms' principal employees were hunted down and ignominiously treated. They either have run away or bought suzerainty by bribery of the boycott committee.

Authority Stands Aside

The civil and military authorities do absolutely nothing towards re-establishing normal relations, and that no further excesses against British interests have occurred here during the last days is solely due to the fact that nobody dares to oppose the boycott committee's action and that their aim of bringing about an entire suspension of British trading here has been fully achieved.

This new movement took its rise at the beginning of this month, when a meeting of the Si Tang Pu, Shuai Sze Hwei, Tsung Tse Hwei and the reorganized trade guilds leaders decided on a protest demonstration on the Wansien affair and adopted the following resolution:—

"That all British firms here should be closed and all British goods be held up and that all their employees should suspend work after three days' notice until the Wansien affair had been settled to China's satisfaction."

Pervverting the Police

On the following day all the British firms here were duly informed by letter of this decision. Though the Foreign Chamber of Commerce promptly communicated this threat to the Military Police Head Office and obtained a reassuring reply, it after all turned out that the anti-foreign elements were permitted to carry out their programme to the letter. The irony in the matter is, that there is no anti-British sentiment in 99 per cent. of Changteh's population. The whole boycott affair is engineered by a few young political hotheads of no standing—one thereof, a certain Li Chi-huan, however, having recently obtained a position as T'eh Chang or Inspector in the Tchun Chin Tsa Chu, the Military Police, and thereby pervverting that force's service.

Whilst this was proceeding at Sui-Lan Kou another strong party of student boycotters raided my residence at Hwanglo. They searched and rifled the rooms of valuables and handcuffed and took away all my servants, leaving the place untenanted. My private loss on valuables, as watch, rings, etc., could not yet be fully ascertained, but is certainly too considerable to let it go unmentioned and I have sent a report to the Magistrate. The house

servants were finally released, but after such thorough intimidation that none has yet dared to rejoin us.

THE STUDENTS' "AMOUR PROPRE"

The following excerpts are from letters from Canton written in September, 1926:—

There was a holiday that afternoon in the College. A wedding was to take place in the chapel. The little Chinese bride was standing waiting in the corridor. Some of the students began to rag her, according to old Chinese custom. Others took up the fun. They were getting too boisterous. The frightened girl ran for protection to the kindly wife of the Principal. This lady was annoyed, and remarked, "What a shame!" The students heard.

Their feelings were deeply wounded; and crying "We've been insulted!" they ran to the Principal, who was busy in the quadrangle, and knew nothing of what had been going on. They were all talking at once. He waved his arm, saying, "One at a time, please." His sleeve inadvertently brushed the persons of some of those pressing near him.

A cry was raised "We've been assaulted! We've been assaulted!" A thrill of horror and indignation against the British staff ran through the College.

The student body "struck." They would no longer learn, nor would they leave the premises. That was the last heard.

Pickets Curtailing Holidays

An American friend, badly needing rest and change, came down to the coast from the interior. After a few days, she was saying "good-bye." "Why so soon?" I asked. She said, "I promised the pickets I would not be absent more than a month, including coming and going. They demanded, at first, I should be back within two weeks; but I explained that the whole time would then be swallowed up in the journey. As a great favour they extended the time limit to a month. I promised, and I must go back."

Outside one of the southern cities, the Bolshevik party from Canton seized some buildings, and turned them into a "school" for boys and girls. There was no thought of any moral restraint between the young men and women. "Imperialism" was no longer of any use to the rising generation.

Near by was an American missionary family—a young husband and wife and three merry youngsters. The mother was expecting a fourth addition to the circle in a month's time.

In the dark hours of one night a mob from the school surrounded the house. The inmates, scantily clad, managed to escape, and hide in the rice field, shivering and terrified, till morning light enabled them to find shelter elsewhere. Meanwhile their house was looted and wrecked.

The official informed them that even if their claim for damages was met, the innocent inhabitants of the locality would have to pay. Nothing could be done against the Soviet "school."

Paid Agitators

The Canton authorities are having hard work, stirring up the flame of hatred against the British. It is entirely artificial and alien; and kept alive by the sleek gentlemen, educated abroad, wearing English clothes and with their ill-gotten gains safely invested under the protection

of the Union Jack. The street agitators are paid; and therefore do their job as efficiently as they can. They are not to blame if there are occasional lapses.

SLAVERY AND BANDITRY IN RED KIANGSI

Wuchow, Kuangsi, Nov. 17.

The past few months has seen a large increase in the dealing in slave girls throughout the province. The recent famine in Kweichow caused many of the poorer classes of people to part with their children in order to get money to keep body and soul together, and these children have been bought up by Kuangsi traders and shipped down to the coast and cities en route, where they have been sold at a handsome profit. Scarcely a boat comes down river nowadays without having its quota of little urchins huddled together in some corner of the boat on their way to an unknown destination. While slavery is supposed to be against the law, everyone winks at the business, and oftentimes the officials are the greatest offenders.

Bandits Active

Bandits are again becoming active in various parts of the province. Lungchow seems to be a favourite spot to carry on their nefarious work, but more recently other smaller bands have appeared along the North and Red rivers, and have held up native cargo boats and taken the occupants for ransom. Motor launches have also been fired on, but thus far have eluded their assailants. The province has been more peaceful during the past months than for some time, owing largely to the fact that many of the lawless bands were incorporated in the Southern army and sent northward. When these return we may expect a repetition of the anarchy experienced a couple of years ago, unless many are fortunate enough to never return to their native province.

Recruiting Difficulties

Recruiting for the Southern army continues with unabated vigilance, but the recruiting officers are finding greater difficulties in securing as many men as they would like to enlist. Formerly, when there was little fighting and good opportunities for loot and enrichment, the call to arms was responded to with a show of enthusiasm, but since frequent reports have filtered back home that the Southern arms have suffered many reverses, and that their victories have been gained with considerable loss of men, those who are now appealed to to enlist do not find the offers quite so attractive as they once were.

CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S POLICY

Excerpts from an interview by Mr. Bruno Swartz of the "Hankow Herald," at Nanchangfu, November 19, 1926.

According to General Chiang Kai-shek, the conquering of Wu Pei-fu, Chang Tso-lin, Sun Chuan-fang and other northern militarists, is but a step of the immediate programme of the Northern Expedition. Hand in hand with it goes the determination to remove all supervision from Chinese administrative affairs, such as the Customs, Postal Service, Salt Gabelle, to secure the return of all foreign concessions in the country and to declare any and all treaties with foreign Powers which were made with previous Governments in China null and void. There will be no question of considering and revising existing treaties when the military revolution in China has been suc-

cessfully completed, declared General Chiang, as all such treaties will summarily be refused recognition by the Nationalist Government.

Government along Russian Lines

"What are your plans with regard to the form of government China will have after the revolution is completed?" I asked General Chiang.

"The new government will be based entirely upon the policy laid down by 'The Three Peoples Principles' by Dr. Sun Yat Sen," he replied. "It will be a Committee form of government along the same lines as exists in Russia to-day."

Recognition on China's Terms

"What are your intentions with regard to seeking recognition from the Foreign Powers?" I next asked General Chiang.

"Those who are sympathetic with us will extend us recognition without making demands for privileges in return. Such friendly nations will relinquish all their special privileges and Concessions without question, and will recognize us as a friendly Power. Those who still desire to maintain their special privileges and their Concessions, and those who are not willing to co-operate with us by denouncing all existing treaties with China as unequal and making new treaties upon a basis of entire equality, will be considered by us as unfriendly, and we do not care whether they recognize us or not. Existing treaties will come to an end, however, in the immediate future, recognition or no recognition. We want to be friendly with all other nations of the world, but we are out to stamp down Imperialism, and no unequal treaties will ever be adhered to by us for the sake of securing recognition from Powers with Imperialistic ideals."

Will Adhere to No Treaties

With regard to signing new treaties with the Powers, General Chiang Kai-shek stated that the Nationalist Government is ready and willing at any moment to enter

into conference with the representatives of the various Powers in China, but was emphatic in declaring that such treaties will have to be made on the basis of equality, entirely without such special privileges as have been accorded in the past—that extraterritoriality and similar preferential treatment would be omitted from such new treaties entirely.

"What do you think of Dr. Wellington Koo's action in abrogating the Sino-Belgian Treaty?" I asked General Chiang.

"Dr. Koo was right," was his immediate reply, "and the abroga-



GENERAL CHIANG KAI-SHEK

tion of this treaty is but the first of others to come. No new treaty will be made with Belgium which contains special privileges, and no *status quo* will be maintained. If Belgium wishes to enter into a new treaty, this Government is willing to enter into one with her, but upon an entirely new basis. We will execute no treaties such as were signed by former Governments, nor will we at any time recognize any treaties or agreements which were made with other nations by any Government in China previous to that of the Nationalist Forces. Nor will we at any time recognize any treaties made now, unless they are over the signature of the Nationalist Government."

Foreign Rights Must Go

"What about Extraterritoriality and the Foreign Concessions?" was the next question.

"If Extraterritoriality continues to exist in China, and if foreign Powers continue to exercise special privileges in this country in the form of administering Concessions here under their own laws and outside of the jurisdiction of the Chinese Government, then the present revolution shall not be complete until these are entirely abolished. It is just as great a part of the Revolutionary movement to abolish Extraterritoriality and Foreign Concessions as it is to stamp out the northern militarists, and this Revolution will not come to an end until that has been done."

No Gradual Changes

"Don't you think it would be more satisfactory to all concerned if the relinquishing of special privileges in China were accomplished gradually," I asked, "and that it could be done with mutual satisfaction over a period of years as the Chinese government machinery developed a standard of recognized efficiency?"

"This is not an evolutionary movement," replied General Chiang. "It is revolutionary. There will be no period of years, not one, or two, or three years. We shall have equality and any treaties which do not give us that equality with other nations of the world shall cease to exist as far as we are concerned. This will be done at once, and foreigners who wish to remain in China are cordially welcome to stay here and be governed by our laws. Nations who wish to trade with us may do so in accordance with our laws. But no one can stay in China, and no one can trade in China, and still be subject to his own laws alone without reference to the laws of the Chinese Government. The idea of waiting for the abolition of these special and unequal privileges over any period of time does not meet with sympathy on our part, and we shall not submit to any such delay under any circumstances."

Imperialist America

"Do you think the form of government in the United States of America would be suitable to future China," I further inquired.

"No," he said; "your Government in spite of its name as a democratic form of government, tends to be imperialist in nature. Our Government, as I have said before, will be founded on 'The Three Peoples Principles.' The fact that you tell me that America is ruled by the people and is therefore a democracy does not make it so. A proper democracy does not hold possessions outside of its own territorial limits, and refuse to the people of those possessions the right to freedom and the right to govern themselves. In so doing we cannot consider America a Government which respects the rights of the people, and thus it is Imperialist in nature."

"Do you refer to the Philippine Islands?" I asked.

"Exactly so," he replied. "The United States has no right to maintain its hold upon those islands outside of its territory. They are a separate people and are entitled to the right to govern themselves."

"Have you ever been to the Philippines?" I asked him.

No, he admitted; he had never visited the Philippines, but he knew their history and what their people wanted.

I asked General Chiang whether if they were granted independence, under present world conditions, did he not think it would be necessary for the Philippines to maintain an army and a navy of their own to prevent aggression from other Powers with ideas of territorial conquest, and whether he thought the people of the Island were of one race and would be capable of governing themselves without the probability of continuous civil war, and the immediate splitting up of the Islands by the mutual hatreds of their races. I told him that I had visited the Philippines and had travelled over almost every one of its far-flung islands and knew that no one race in one island would be content to be ruled by a race of any other island. Nor could the many races in these islands get together to form a government, since the hatreds of the races against one another were so strong.

This General Chiang discounted as being exaggerated, and stated that it had no bearing whatsoever on the right of the Philippine Islands to autonomy. The making of such statements, thought the General, was an expression of an Imperialist trend of mind.

Must Free Other Peoples

"Is this revolution in China the beginning of a world movement on your part, or will you be satisfied if you have removed 'Imperialism' and 'Militarism' from China?" I asked.

"This revolution is not the end, but merely the beginning," was the startling reply of General Chiang Kai-shek. "There are other nations in the world to-day who are burdened under the yoke of 'Imperialism'. It is true that this revolution is now taking place in China, but there are other countries where it must take place as well. Such revolutions, the freedom of other oppressed peoples, will have to come about. China is but one country. There are many more in which 'Imperialism' must be crushed before the world will be at peace."

"INTELLECTUAL" TWADDLE

The following paragraphs are from a letter to the Editor of the "North-China Daily News" by a prominent and influential Chinese who writes anonymously over the initials "F.D.Z." It is an astonishingly frank confession of the fact that the foreigner is hated because he enjoys more security under the "unequal status" than the wretched Chinese:—

Shanghai, Nov. 19.

Now, not all foreigners are haughty. Some, on the contrary, are very kind and generous to everyone who has a chance to meet them. Nevertheless, the general impression remains the same. Wherever the foreigners go, they are seen to live luxuriously. They do things that nobody else in China has been able to do. The magistrates protect and respect foreigners more than even the richest of the natives.

Then war and disturbance occurs. All Chinese strive to be as near the foreigners as possible, for with them is the best hope of safety! Will the foreigners therefore be blessed by everybody? No, on the contrary, they are more than ever in danger of being hated and distrusted.

For every Chinese who comes in safety with the foreigner there are thousands who suffer terribly without help. Imagine a whole city tortured with hell fire which, however, does not harm a few individuals. The agents of hell do not strike them, while striking everybody else. All are robbed and stripped of everything except them. They are the favoured few, and what a favour! But by what right? Are they not somehow in league with the robbers, for how otherwise can they face them with impunity?

Foreign Concessions

A cruel magistrate comes to a city and oppresses all but a few powerful families. Is it not the only thing reasonable that these families will be hated as much as the cruel oppressor himself? If the foreigners are so strong as to be feared by the militarists, why can they not protect all people from these militarists altogether? I can hear the farmers cry: "To think that we should suffer so while they go free! Woe to the foreigners!"

And then there are the great cities of Shanghai, Hankow and Tientsin with their foreign settlements. The past history counts as nothing to the Chinese labourers and farmers. What they care for is the present and the present only. Imagine a country farmer who for the first time sets his foot at Shanghai. He sees the wonderful buildings and the beautiful lights and these fill his heart with child-

THE PROLETARIAT DICTATES

A foreigner in Hankow who had the temerity to discharge his amah, cook and a number of coolies on the occasion of his wife's departure for Home, received the following extraordinary epistle from the servants' union:

"Dear Sir:—

We beg to say that we were told that you dismissed your servants for the Miss went to the mother nation.

The condition, that is in the end of Chinese year must get double pay by the every employees.

Now you dismissed them and on paid one month salaries.

If you don't pay one month more, it will go hard with you.

You know the conditions and proceedings of Chinese Workmen. We wish to inform you to argue you and take care to think this matter off.

If you don't pay we will send my workmen police to surround your house.

It is no face and inform to you.

You shall do as our question, if you are wise.

Hoping that we shall hear from you in reply, Quick! I

Yours truly,

Chairman.

ish delight. But he sees at the same time the Hindu policeman, tall, awful, with a terrible stick in his hand! With one of his relatives he takes a ride in the bus. By his side sits a foreign gentleman from whom he receives a fearful look. He becomes ill at ease; but he is the last one to realize that it is his dirty dress which gives offence. Presently he opens his throat and spits on the floor. The foreign gentleman immediately seizes him and shakes his fist at his face! He is so frightened that he can only bend his head. He goes home to tell all his neighbours about the arrogance and cruelty of the foreigners. This is the root from which anti-foreignism springs. . . .

Red Influence Not All

The short-sighted attribute everything to red influence. As if the Soviets can create everything out of nothing! Even granted that the red propaganda are doing wonders, the root of evil at least must already exist. And I find this root of evil in the unequal status. . . .

Many of the foreigners indeed utilize their unequal status to a good purpose. But the little good that is done becomes nothing in the face of ruined cities, devastated villages, the whole countryside burned down to ashes. The foreigners are indeed no direct cause to all these miseries; but the very fact that they do not share in the miseries must cause them to be associated with the worst of the tyrants. Hence anti-foreignism, nay, anti-Christianity, for the Christians are under the foreigners' protection!

The Chinese Government is nothing; but the Chinese people are everything. The Chinese people as a whole are offended with the unequal status. The unequal status shall die!

THE STRIKE MANIA

A Chinese girl, Miss Agnes Fung, comments as follows on the high-handedness of the Canton strikers:—

Shanghai, Nov. 27.

Strikes are becoming a thing of daily occurrence in China, and the more popular they get to be, the more trivial are the causes and the queerer are the forms they take, until the real purpose and meaning of the strike are submerged by other petty things. The latest freak indulged by the workmen was a strike in a college, Canton Christian College. A few days ago I received numerous letters and a Declaration of the Students' Union from the same college which enlightened me on many points, and made my blood rise at the bare thought of the inhumanity of the whole thing.

Previous to the beginning of the trouble, the College had ordered all workmen to make their abode outside the campus, but the latter were disinclined to move, declaring that they would surely lose things; however, if the College agreed to pay for the loss, there would be no objection. To this, the College assented. Everything seemed to go on as smoothly as one could expect, when suddenly four workmen of the Agricultural Department complained to the College about the loss of various articles of wear on the night of October 10 in their own dwelling, and claimed compensation for the loss. The College, very naturally, invested the matter to find out the culprit, and discovered that another workman, living with the complainants, had gone out that night and lost heavily in gambling, and therefore was suspected of the theft. They then handed the matter over to the

police, and on October 30 the four workmen and the one who was suspected were summoned to Canton and cross-examined.

A State of Siege

Finding that the latter was not above suspicion, the police detained him for further questioning. News of his confinement spread like fire through the whole College; it almost immediately reached the ears of the Labour Union within the campus. There was an uproar among the workmen, the College was accused of not fulfilling promises, of wresting power out of the hands of the Union, and of falsely charging a workman with theft. His release was demanded before 10 o'clock the next morning, and if it was not carried out, all servants and workmen within the campus would strike. The workman was eventually set free, but as he did not reach the College before 10 a.m., they did not deem it sufficient, so on November 1 all servants and workmen went on strike. Not content with such an unreasonable act, they surrounded the College, thus allowing no access or exit, closed all the kitchens and food stores, displaced the water pump and the launch engines, with no compunction regarding the fate of the students.

The College was in the saddest straits that day. The kitchens were closed and so was the larder; the students could not procure food outside the campus, while the supply within was scarcely sufficient to feed 800 students, besides the staff members and their families.

The College Climbs Down

With the food supply exhausted and urged to a quick settlement by the Government, the College opened negotiations with the workmen, and on November 4 the strike was called off after certain conditions had been agreed upon. Among the clauses were the following: the College was to apologize to the Union in the newspapers; it had to burn firecrackers in order to welcome the workmen back to work; it had to pay a sum of \$200 to the Union for expenses involved during the strike; it should compensate the four workmen for the loss of clothing to the value of \$40; it should notify the Union beforehand of anything concerning the workmen; and it was to allow them to move back into the campus.

To us the terms seem terribly absurd and impossible for the College to carry out, but placed as the latter was in such a difficult position, it could do nothing less than comply.

"NATIONALIST REFORMS" IN POOR KANSU

Lanchow, Kansu, Dec. 10.

The first year of Nationalist rule in Kansu is now completed, and it may be interesting to those elsewhere to learn what are the results.

The effect of Nationalist rule is seen in heavy taxation and extortion of all kinds, high costs of transport and of food, and general dissatisfaction. This is probably due partly to special conditions due to the fighting, and partly to the hordes of alien soldiery being poured into a province poor in natural resources. . . .

The third consideration as to the results of their administration must be judged doubtless by the parlous times in which we live, the lack of peace and of money especially. But it remains true that the visions of better education, better roads, railways, and developments of all kinds have so far scarcely been fulfilled

in the least. It is true a few roads near the capital have been smoothed down, and motor roads are reported as being here and there. Of the various orphanages, old people's homes and the like which were started last year, a few are still running, but rather lamely. The school authorities are more or less in despair for lack of funds. Teachers' salaries are far overdue, and many have not been paid apparently for over six months. "The words of the Nationalists are good," has often been said to me, "but they are good only at making promises. Their hearts are different from their words."

In the fourth place, the attitude of the Nationalists is changing towards Christianity. A year ago, when Marshal Feng was generally regarded as an ardent supporter of Christianity, those officials who were anti-Christian kept their views to themselves. But now that the First Nationalist Army has linked its fortunes with the Kuomintang and has Canton for its model, it is natural that the pro-Christian elements are silent, while the other party is active. We have processions of scholars, where the obedient boys call out "Down with Imperialism" and "Down with Christianity" with apparently nothing more than parrot-like sincerity.

RED SYMPATHIZER DISGUSTED

Shanghai, Dec. 31.

The writer is one who sympathizes with the ideals of the Southern Party and the three principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. We are in the presence of a serious attempt on the part of a few returned students to regenerate China. The object is a worthy one. Alas, the tools are those that came to hand,—the Bolsheviks.

The behaviour of the members of the Chinese Revolutionary Government and their entourage while in Kuikiang has been disappointing. In the hotels in which they lived, beds were smoked in and sheets burnt, ink was upset and tablecloths spoilt. The floors and carpets of lounges were spat on indiscriminately, and so were the walls. In fact, though of course some of the party knew very well how to behave, many did not, and the whole general tone was not of the sort usually associated with modern Governments.

Galen Alone Respected

A number of Russian women fraternized with the soldiers of the Cantonese body-guard, sitting amongst them, chatting and joking with them. Nor were all these women the wives of the Russian secretaries and officers attached to the party. The picture is not one which inspires confidence. Communism may be all very well in some places, but the sight of all sorts of nondescripts lounging about when important conversations are being held does not give an impression of efficiency.

The respect shown for Chiang Kai-shek and other members of the Revolutionary Government, including Mrs. Sun Yat-sen, was not conspicuous among the members of their retinue. There was only one man for whom they all showed real respect. For him alone did they all rise when he entered the room. On his appearance the nondescripts vanished; the chairs in which they had lounged were left empty. He alone had a body-guard who could pretend to vie in smartness in any

way with the sort of troops we are used to in the West. That man was Galen.

(Note:—General Galen is an Austrian, whose real name is Blucher, and who, under his own name, made a reputation for himself in the Bolshevik revolution of 1917.)

THE LUST FOR DESTRUCTION

Swatow, Jan. 6.

Strikes are the order of the day here at present. Within the past two months it seems as if every considerable body of workmen must have been out. The demands are all the same, an increase of pay varying from 30 to 100 per cent. for the various grades, an extra bonus of one or two months' pay at the end of the year (unless, it is in some cases generously allowed, the firm has by that time gone bankrupt), an eight hours' day, and an agreement that employees shall only be engaged through the union, and shall not be dismissed except with the consent of the union. In nearly every case the demands are almost fully granted. A considerable increase of wages is not unreasonable in view of the steep rise in the cost of living during the past months, which is largely due in turn to the heavy taxation imposed by the "People's Government" and the endless interferences with trade which they encourage, including the anti-British boycott; but it is to be feared that the simple worker has not yet realized the working of the economic law by which the price of commodities chases hard on the heels of the rate of wages. The other conditions are intolerable. There have been flagrant cases where employers have been forbidden to dismiss employees guilty of serious embezzlement or other grave dishonesty on pain of a general strike of their workmen, and have even been compelled to apologize publicly to the criminal, and compensate him handsomely for the damage done to his reputation. Employers of every sort are groaning under the tyranny, and complaining of a general deterioration in the quality of work and a steady decline in business.

Our unfortunate mayor has been having a bad time of it. Among the recent strikes was one of the police force, for higher wages, shorter hours, and the right to form a union. He was not inclined to give way to them, and they marched in a body to his office, shouting "Down with the mayor!" "Kill the mayor," and expressing their intention of hauling him out and dragging him in ropes through the streets. He disappeared in good time through the back premises, and the police are back at work (to call it such) again, and have no doubt got their way. The printers have been on strike for nearly three weeks, and no newspaper is appearing except the official organ of the Kuomintang. That is a relief for which all lovers of truth give thanks. It is said that some of them may never resume publishing.

The anti-Christian Christmas demonstration passed off here without incident. The churches held their services early in the forenoon, before the demonstrators assembled. The procession was slightly larger than last year's—there would be something over 1,000 in it—and considerably more vociferous. It was chiefly composed of schools, but only a few had any large representation; the labour unions were a small minority. The agitation is now camouflaged under the name of "The new culture movement,"

branches of which have been organized in the leading schools. Hitherto it has been masquerading as an opposition to "cultural encroachment," but our young enthusiasts will have it both ways, and "down with" consistency.

"Down With Confucius"

This movement is devoted also to the destruction of Confucianism, and has placarded the walls with denunciations of it as effete and obsolete. Its basis appears to be definitely atheistic; at least the manifesto issued by the students' union on Christmas Day gravely informs the public that it is now well known that there is no God. Some cases of disturbance of Christmas services are reported from outlying places; and in one place a chapel was attacked in the afternoon by the Peasants' Union, and the furniture smashed up, and the preacher in charge assaulted. This Union some time ago took forcible possession of this chapel, and after about a month were ejected by the magistrate owing to representations made at Swatow; hence, no doubt, this further display of ill temper.

The Swatow Academy, connected with the American Baptist Mission here, has been for months past the object of bitter attack, being the only Christian Middle School that still carries on; and at last its enemies seem to have got their way with it. The usual programme has been gone through. A section of the students, with instigation and encouragement from outside, worked up an agitation, and presented a list of quite impossible demands, amounting in sum to the handing over of the control and management to the students, and on their being refused, declared a strike, threatened personal violence to the head (a Chinese) and several of the teachers; and declare their intention of remaining in occupation, if their demands are not granted, and, with support which they will get from outside, carrying on the school as their own affair; in short, emulating the example of their friends who still sit tight in the Anglo-Chinese College.

MAKING PATRIOTS OF THE SCUM

Huangyen, Chekiang, Jan. 22.

That the Kuomintang agents are busily at work, there is no question. They are finding a fruitful field among the pirates along the coast. The writer is reliably informed that the pirates, professional gamblers and all the scum of the district are being given identification tickets as members of the Kuomintang with orders to rise at the given signal and overturn the constituted authorities. (Incidentally also to "overthrow the Christian Church and drive out the foreigners").

ABSURD DEMANDS ON BANKS

The majority of both foreign and Chinese Banks in Hankow have now closed. Their struggle, against the employees' union, operating under Red inspiration, was futile from the beginning, as the following roster of "demands" will show. The absurdity of these "demands" is only clear when it is understood that the Mexican dollar has, or had until war and "nationalism" disrupted trade and raised the cost of living—a high purchasing value. Until the Red terror had upset the economic balance, a workman could eat his fill and more for Mex. \$5 a

month. For Mex. \$10 it was possible to arrange board with a Chinese restaurant, guaranteeing all tit-bits and luxuries. The dollar is roughly Tls. 0.72, so that an apprentice, whom no Chinese employee would do more than feed, would be entitled under these demands to a wage equivalent to ten times his keep.

Hankow, Feb. 15.

Chinese employees of the foreign banks in Hankow, now organized into a union under the auspices of the Red administration, have just presented their employers with a list of 27 demands which are, for the most part, so absurd that they

TROTSKY EXPLAINS THE METHOD

Trotsky, in an address to the Moscow Military Academy on May 5, 1924, is reported to have said:—

"At a certain stage the class struggle must develop into civil war and, in order to carry on the class struggle, they of the Red Army must study the art of Civil War. Hitherto their experiences had been quite inadequate for the problems ahead and they were working out, for co-ordination with their existing military teaching, a Manual of Civil War in three stages: the period of technical training, the period of open warfare and the period of consolidation after victory.

"The first stage involved the organization of fighting units of workers, of revolutionary nuclei within imperialist armies, of revolutionary nuclei among the railway staffs and the training of commanders to take charge of vital centres when those centres were occupied. The second stage included the choice of the moment for open attack and the working out of a plan of operations based on a study of the social structure and territorial distribution of the population. The third stage dealt with the immediate creation of political machinery, tribunals, etc., and the systematic destruction of the vital forces of the enemy.

"It was necessary to combine armed invasion from without with civil war within. The Oriental Dept. of the Military Academy was of vast importance and its importance would increase if their Oriental Fighters were to be trained properly. They must learn the language of the country in which they were to operate and the language of the country which oppressed the natives of the Oriental country in question. They must also learn how to transform the class struggle into armed warfare, which the Red Oriental Agents must, if necessary, lead. They must study the geography, economics, politics and military organization of the country."

challenge credulity and would not be reproduced if there were not assurances from the best possible authorities that the authors are by no means perpetrating a joke but take themselves and their wants quite seriously. The following is an abridged translation done by a competent person:—

(1) No employee can be dismissed unless he has committed malfeasance (stealing money), nor unless the dismissal is approved by the Union.

(2) The bank shall grant full travelling expenses to those employees who have completed one year's service, and who would resign after one year. Those employees who resign after a period exceeding one year shall receive three months' salary; after two years, four months' salary, etc.

(3) (Unimportant.)

(4) The Bank shall not be allowed to close without the authorization of the Union.

(5) Employees can only be recruited from the Union.

(6) Beyond the fixed office hours, all employees shall receive one day's salary for every two hours' work overtime.

(7) All employees shall wear the uniform of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, paid for by the Bank (uniform includes overcoat, shoes, etc.).

(8) Medical expenses paid.

(9) Forty days' leave every year (travelling and sickness excluded). In the case of a death or marriage of their relatives, employees shall be granted one month's leave on full pay. In the case of sickness of an employee indefinite leave on full pay.

Those employees who have not taken 40 days' leave shall receive 40 days' salary (additional). Those who take their leave shall receive full travelling expenses, in addition to their pay, etc.

(10) The Banks shall be required to create a Provident Fund: employees will deposit 10 cent. of their salary; the banks will add a sum equivalent and will guarantee a minimum interest of 10 per cent. All employees will further be entitled to 3 per cent. of the net profits of the Bank.

(11) Employees will receive \$15 monthly (food expenses) and \$20 monthly (rent allowance).

(12) On the occasion of the wedding or death of a relative, the employee will receive \$200.

(13) Employees who have been invalided will be entitled to their full salary for life.

(14) Pension:
After 20 years' service full salary
Between 15 and 20 " 2/3 "
" 10 and 15 " 3/10 "

(15) An employee who has worked in a bank for seven years will be entitled to one year's salary; after 13 years, two years' salary; after 18 years, three years' salary, and so on.

(16) Should a bank be forced to close, each employee will be entitled to one year's salary.

(17) Married employees shall be entitled to \$20 extra (monthly).

(18) Clothes, luggage, etc., belonging to the employees shall be insured by the banks.

(19) The above stipulations do not cover those banks which are willing to grant to their employees still better conditions.

(20) The Union has the right to alter the present rules whenever it thinks advisable to do so.

(21) The Banks must accept the demands of the employees, if the Union is of the opinion that they should be granted.

Baleful Conveniences

(22) Employees shall be all allowed to request the banks to abolish or to modify what they might consider as harmful to them; for instance, heating, electric fans, newspapers, etc.

(23) Native employees are free from all responsibility.

(24) Native employees shall be treated on an equal footing.

(25) Employees cannot be used for other purposes than those for which they are employed.

(26) The above rules shall be enforced from January 1, 1927.

Pay of employees:—

Minimum salary Tls. 67.

Employees at Tls. 10	Increase of Tls.	
" 10 to 25	"	50
" 26 to 40	"	55
" 41 to 55	"	54
" 56 to 70	"	54
" 71 to 85	"	52

Increase of pay: Tls. 10 (Monthly) once a year (minimum). Apprentices will draw Tls. 30 (monthly) with an annual increase.

(27) On the occasion of every half-yearly balancing of the books all employees will be entitled to three months' extra pay.

(28) Twice a year (end of June and December) they will receive one month's extra pay.

Hankow, Mar. 21.

All Chinese employees in foreign banks went on strike this morning. Foreign banks are picketed.

The strikers are threatening to shut off all food supplies from the staffs of foreign banks. They also threaten to make their servants leave their posts.—Reuter.

THE SHANGHAI STRIKES

No pretence at economic justification for the Shanghai strike of 1927 has been made by the labour unions. The strike situation is so big that it would require a special publication to deal with it adequately. The major events have been posterior to the signing of the Chen-O'Malley Agreement at Hankow, February 19, 1927, and are therefore not strictly within the scope of this publication. Intimidation of workers, through the murder of foremen and watchmen, is, however, too conspicuous a form of "nationalist" endeavour now to be wholly ignored.

The General Strike

(From the "Shanghai Municipal Gazette," Shanghai, March 18.)

As soon as news reached Shanghai of the withdrawal of Marshal Sun's forces from the area of the Chien Tang River, sympathizers with the Southern Party urged the evacuation of Shanghai by Marshal Sun's forces and the supersession of the local administration by a citizens' commission. Propaganda conducted in furtherance of this policy culminated on February 18 in a decision to call a general strike. Starting on February 19 with 54,600 employees affected, this movement extended steadily until February 22, when the total number of strikers reached 112,000. These included the operatives of 39 cotton mills, 27 silk filatures, 5 tobacco factories, 6 shipping and wharf companies, a large majority of the Chinese Post Office, the Municipal Electricity Department, the Tramway Companies in the Settlement, French Concession and Chinese territory, together with four departmental stores on Nan-king Road. The total number of workers out increased to 124,500, and the total number of working days lost was 488,000. On February 22 the strike commenced to collapse. By February 25 the number out had been reduced to 10,000, all of whom returned to work before February 28. Although Japanese, British and Chinese concerns were the chief sufferers, the dispute also considerably affected American, French and Portuguese firms. Attempts to induce merchants and shopkeepers to join forces with the strikers proved entirely unsuccessful. Apart from the large department stores, no shops were affected, with the exception of a small number of stores in Sinza District which closed for a few hours on February 20. Five important Chinese newspapers, however, suspended publication from February 21 to 26. While professing that the strike resulted from a desire on the part of the workers to demonstrate their sympathy with the Southern cause, the agitators from the outset sought to

further the campaign by means of intimidation. At 8.45 a.m. on February 19 a gang of strike pickets smashed the windows of the Aquarius Mineral Water Factory and assaulted the foreign manager. These tactics were repeated a short time later at the British Cigarette Company's Packing Factory, Baikal Road, and at the Shanghai Steam Laundry, 8 Thorburn Road, and again in the afternoon at a lace factory at No. 549 Kungping Road. This policy of violence culminated the following day in interference with buses and tramcars. The sum of these events showed that the agitators had determined to reduce the community to helplessness by means of a general strike, made effective by violence and terrorism. The Municipal Police on February 20 and succeeding dates arrested all persons found intimidating loyal workers and distributing literature of an inflammatory nature. In this way about fifty persons were arrested and certain well-known bases of agitation were closed, while measures of a somewhat similar nature were adopted in the French Concession and Chinese territory. In the latter area a dozen or more alleged seditionists were summarily executed by the Chinese Authorities. Previous to the adoption of these measures the Chinese Authorities issued a proclamation prohibiting strikes, and explaining that persons found intimidating peaceful workers would be dealt with according to martial law.

The local branch of the Chinese Communist Party was very active during the month and played an important part in arranging the general strike. Its leaders are now concentrating on organizing the power of the revolutionary labourers and peasants so as to give effective support to the Nationalist regime. The nature of the support to be rendered has not been disclosed, but there is little doubt that the leaders intend that it shall take the form of a widespread general strike. It seems to be the hope of the agitators that by the time the order for that movement is issued the workers will be reduced to such a state of fear that they will obey without hesitation. *This end is now being furthered by sinister propagandists who to emphasize their power arranged no less than five armed attacks upon employees of industrial concerns during the last ten days of February. The victims were shot dead in three of these cases and were seriously wounded in the two others. No motive seems to have existed*

for these crimes save a desire to intimidate. Two of the persons concerned in the campaign who were arrested by the Police admitted that they had no personal grievance against the victims, but had consented to take employment under certain so-called labour unions as hired assassins.

shot her twice more in the abdomen and elbow.

Her small son, but five years old, ran from the back room down the stairs, screaming with fear. Although the blackguard fired once at him he fortunately missed.

The murderers then made off into Chapei.



ONE OF THE CHINESE WOUNDED SOLDIERS

A TYPICAL LABOUR CRIME

Shanghai, March 18.

Labour union assassins committed a peculiarly cold-blooded and atrocious murder yesterday. Two armed men through a ruse got into the house at 1330 Pingliang Road, the home of Wang Ah-foh, Chief Inspector in the Shanghai Tramways, and murdered his wife without giving her a chance for her life.

According to the story of an amah, who was an eye-witness of the crime, the men about 7.45 a.m. knocked on the door, saying that they had a letter for her husband. The victim sent her 13-year-old daughter to open and the men went upstairs at once. One asked if her husband was at home and held out the letter. The woman replied that he had gone to the tram depot. Whilst this conversation was in progress, the witness was dressing her mistress's hair. Having ascertained that she was Wang Ah-foh's wife, one of the men opened fire, and his victim fell to the floor mortally wounded. Whilst she lay there he

The husband, Wong Ah-foh, had been promoted recently to the post of Chief Inspector of the Tramways, in the place of the previous foreman, who was shot and killed on January 12, whilst going to work, at the corner of Tifeng and Bubbling Well Roads. His plucky ricscha puller, who came to his assistance and succeeded in wresting a pistol from one of the assassins, was also shot, dying several days later.

LURID SHANGHAI MOMENTS

March 22.

Shanghai and its environs yesterday saw one of the most hectic days that it has experienced since the area became an International Settlement. The Cantonese advance guards of plain clothes men and disorderly men of all condition forced upon the native districts a veritable reign of terror, in which, there is little doubt, more than 100 casualties took place, while the International Settlement and French Concession escaped only through the fact that there were well on to

20,000 foreign troops policing every ingress into the section. In the neighbourhood of 125,000 industrials are idle to-day as a result of the general strike which was called shortly before noon yesterday. A Punjabi soldier was killed, another was injured, two foreign special police were wounded, a Russian was struck by a stray bullet and two Chinese were injured. Hundreds of bullets from the guns of the marauders entered the Settlement, while for a time in the district along North Szechuen Road Extension there was literally a barrage of bullets coming from the alleyways in Chapei.

Differences in Labour Union

The General Labour Union called a general strike for noon yesterday. The strike was effective in all mills and factories and in the trams, not, however, without disputes between the Kuomintang and Communist Unions over the question of the duration of the holiday. The Kuomintang unions want the holiday definitely limited to two days, after which the workers are to resume without incident, their idea being to make this a period of intense rejoicing at the victory and to avoid such incidents as may mar the general happiness of the occasion. The Communists insist upon a strike, and refuse to state when the period is to terminate. Whereas the Kuomintang wish it to be a holiday, the Communists insist upon calling it a general strike. This internal quarrel among the labourers is a serious matter, as it may lead to scuffles between them.

British Fired On

British patrols at Markham Road Bridge were fired on early in the afternoon by the mob of Communists which took possession of Chapei and carried on a reign of terror throughout the day and night. The Durhams were guarding the Markham Road Bridge, being posted at the middle on the boundary.

From a point about a hundred yards away on the road and behind buildings unknown persons in civilian clothes fired five rifle or pistol shots. At first the soldiers say that they thought the shots only to be crackers, but soon changed their minds when the shots started whizzing over their sandbag embankment. Because of the poor marksmanship the outposts on the bridge suffered no injuries. Machine-guns were at once mounted ready for action, and traffic was stopped from coming over into the Settlement.

MEN OF BRITISH DEFENCE FORCE AT SHANGHAI STOP INRUSH OF FLEEING NORTHERN TROOPS



BRITISH SOLDIER IN ACTION AGAINST THE SHANTUNG TROOPS



A FEW OTHER BRITISH TROOPS GETTING READY

The Debacle in the Yangtze Valley

How Red Tactics Forced British Capitulation: Incidents Leading up to the Capture of Hankow

The Southern Armies entered Hanyang and Hankow September 5-6, 1926. The behaviour of the troops was at first exemplary, but firing on river steamers and foreign gunboats commenced at once. The Political Bureau set rigorously to work organizing labour unions, into which anti-foreign propaganda was instilled most energetically. The minor incidents of September, October and November in Yangtze River ports were, however, no more than a prelude to the serious campaign which commenced when Borodin and the "Nationalist Government" arrived from Canton.

RUSSIAN SEIZES MISSION

Hankow, Sept. 8.

The American Church Mission's premises in the mill district outside the city walls are now occupied by a Cantonese machine-gun battery. A few days ago a Russian, in command of a few hundred men, entered the premises and took possession with a flourish of his gun. The Chinese deacon objected that there were several hundred refugees—women and children—in the place, but the Russian threatened to prod him with his gun, and said in Chinese that he was no supporter of religion, and ordered the premises cleared. While they were getting out his men were mounting his guns, and very shortly after St. Andrew's Mission ostensibly joined in the attack upon the city wall. Since then, however, the surrounding buildings have been burned and the mission buildings do not afford as good cover, so they will probably be abandoned if the defenders of the city give them serious attention.—Reuter.

FOREIGN STEAMERS FIRED ON

Hankow, Sept. 9.

Every foreign steamer entering or leaving Hankow constitutes a target for Southern bullets.

Several Japanese steamers, Messrs. Butterfield & Swire's Poyang and Messrs. Jardine, Matheson's Tuckwo have been severely riddled.

The Tuckwo had one Chinese passenger killed and one wounded.—Reuter.

U.S. Destroyer Replies

Hankow, Sept. 10.

The American gunboats Palos and Pigeon set out for Ichang this morning and were given the further support of the destroyer Stewart for a few miles through the danger zone above Hanyang and Wuchang. Two merchantmen accompanied them in convey. When they came abreast of the Cantonese encampments above Wuchang about 6 a.m. they were greeted by the usual machine-gun and rifle fire. Whether or not the merchantmen were hit is not known, but each of the gunboats and the destroyer were hit about 30 times. The Stewart first replied with machine-gun fire, but this had no effect, so she picked out a building on the Hanyang shore about which the military seemed to be congregated and registered a fair hit with a four-inch gun, apparently doing no little damage. The firing stopped abruptly and was not resumed when the Stewart later came down stream.

FRENCH FLAG FIRED ON

Peking, Sept. 17.

A Southern shore battery at Chengligki, near Hankow, fired on the French gunboat Valny on Tuesday afternoon. The Valny returned the fire with her seventy-fives.—Reuter.

BRITISH OFFICERS PELTED WITH MUD

Hankow, Sept. 22.

About eight o'clock last evening a nasty incident occurred, which fortunately did not develop, when British marine officers were pelted with stones and mud on the borders of the British Concession.

The victims, with admirable self-restraint, did not retaliate and the assailants, who were few in numbers, were finally dispersed by Southern soldiers.—Reuter.

BRITISH FLEE SZECHUAN

Hankow, Sept. 24.

That the anti-British feeling has reached its height in Szechuan is demonstrated by the arrival here yesterday of 42 foreign refugees, chiefly British, comprising 19 children and 23 adults, who were forced to flee from Chungking owing to being in imminent peril of their lives. For some time students and labourers, with the assistance of the local militia, had been threatening foreign lives and property and things began to look so bad that the authorities on September 17, fearing that the mob would get out of control, advised foreign residents to leave immediately.

Owing to the absence of the British Consul at Wanhien the evacuation was carried out by the American Consul, 76 persons leaving, mainly women and children. Thirty-four remained at Ichang, while the others came on to Hankow.

It has since been learned that the evacuated residences have been looted.—Reuter.

JAPANESE DETAINED

Hankow, Sept. 25.

The Japanese staff of the Taian Cotton Mill at Chiakow have been imprisoned in the mill building by local Labour Union pickets.

It is thought that this is a sequel to the present anti-Japanese agitation in Shanghai.—Reuter.

PROMISES BROKEN

Hankow, Oct. 5.

In spite of assurances to the contrary, steamers have again been subjected to rifle fire, this time in the vicinity of Huangchow.

Two Japanese vessels arrived yesterday, and Messrs. Butterfield & Swire's str. Shengking arrived today, all badly riddled, though, fortunately, there were no casualties.

JAPANESE STEAMER FIRED ON

Shanghai, Oct. 12.

According to a Hankow message of yesterday's date, the Chinese troops on the left bank of the Yangtze fired about 50 shots on the N.K.K. str. Tachen Maru the same morning at a point about eight miles below Tayeh. The steamer was proceeding to Hankow from Kiu-kiang. Both crew and passengers sustained no injuries.—Toho.

HUNAN BOYCOTT GROWS

Property in Changsha Confiscated and Servants on Strike

Peking, Oct. 25.

The anti-British boycott at Changsha is intensifying.

Thousands of dollars' worth of property belonging to the Asiatic Petroleum Co. and to the British-American Tobacco Co. has been confiscated and the confiscation of much more property is threatened.

Servants employed by British and American residents at Chengtu have gone on strike and the situation there is more precarious.—Reuter.

SZECHUAN ANTI-FOREIGN

Peking, Oct. 29.

The situation in Szechuan continues to grow worse.

Attempts are being made to intimidate all the employees of foreigners, including officials.

The boycott, which is extending, is now anti-foreign and not only against the British. There have been outbursts of anti-foreign feeling.

It is feared that it will be necessary for all the British residents of Chengtu and places in the interior of Szechuan to leave within a very short time in view of the impossibility of affording them foreign protection.—Reuter.

RED RULE IN HANKOW

Tyrannical Methods of the Cantonese

Hankow, Nov. 26.

The arrival of the Southerners in Hankow in August was greeted by the people with acclamation and heralded as the dawn of a new day. The foreigners here were many of them hostile and others mildly optimistic. It was said that the Canton programme of boycott would be carried out here, but many thought that this centre, being so large and prosperous a one, would not be interfered with. While the fighting was on and the Reds were busy with the Kiangsi campaign there was not much interference with trade here, save the attempt to get money on every pretext. But the campaign by posters was vigorously carried on and the workers were urged to rise and take what was theirs by rights.

Reign of Intimidation

A few weeks ago was the anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Republic, and from that time, owing to the collapse of Sun Chuan-fang in Kiangsi, things have moved fast and furiously. Posters appeared definitely linking China with the Soviet, and we began to hear of scores of labour unions being formed. This forming of labour unions went on for some time until now every possible kind of worker is united into a union. All this was accomplished

by force, just as in Canton. Any worker who did not join the union was intimidated. He was liable to beating and, worse still, his home was often attacked, and he knew if he did not join, his wife and family would probably suffer. Thus the first step was the formation of unions.

Then came the second step. Once formed, the first thing done by the unions was to present a set of demands and threaten to strike if these were not complied with in, usually, 48 hours. Masters' unions are largely prohibited, and even if they do function they can do nothing, for the so-called government always take the side of the worker against the capitalist.

If an unhappy shopkeeper threatens to close up, he is told his place will be confiscated with all his stock! Stoppages of work first occurred in the native city; cloth shop employees were out early, and since then workers of every description.

The Consul Conciliates

Two weeks ago things began to warm up in the Concession. Ever since the Reds came here they have tried to ride rough-shod over Concession rules. They tried to walk on the British Bund, and one day there was a fracas in consequence. As a result the Consul immediately gave orders that the Bund was to be open for Chinese, since when it has been crowded with them and our children have to go elsewhere. On another occasion armed men visited the motor garage next the Municipal police station and took off a car under the eyes of the British police. Armed motor cars frequently go through the Concession, and nothing is done. The Southerners are so set up because of their many victories that they are ready to fight the world.

Japanese Position Pitiable

Two weeks ago, without a moment's warning, the Post Office went on strike and for three whole days all postal business was suspended. Then at the beginning of this week the orders were given for servants to come out in the Japanese Concession. Here the position is pitiable. Japanese are not able even to buy food and the activities of the pickets are such that the houses are closely watched and any servant who dares work is captured, bound, and paraded through the streets, and ill treated. Pickets attempt to work in the British Concession, and on Saturday and Sunday the Volunteers were called out to keep them out. Now they come in civilian dress.

All the methods of Canton are being used, not only upon foreigners, but Chinese, and the people groan beneath a tyranny the like of which they have never known before. The workers for the most part do not want to strike, but they are forced by this wicked and ruthless intima-

tion, for they know that behind the uniformed strike picket is the soldier. The whole thing is a government thing.

There is no need to go into details. This is what happened yesterday in a large German egg factory. A group of pickets from outside entered the building at 12 o'clock, no one stopping them, took the comrade, bound him, led him through the streets in view of the people and finally, after paying \$500 cash down, he got away. All the workers were ordered out, in spite of the fact that thousands of dollars worth of eggs were in process of treatment and a few hours' delay meant they went bad. Only after tremendous efforts and expense did the management manage to get men back at seven in the evening.

Chinese Equally Alienated

Yesterday at the packing houses, many thousand bales of cotton were carried in, for they are at the height of their busy time. This morning, though these places are in the British Concession, the workers were told to stop, and to-day has been quiet as the grave.

GENERAL STRIKE PLANNED

Hankow, Nov. 28.

A general anti-foreign strike and boycott is threatened on December 4. It is believed that servants and office workers and all other Chinese in foreign employ will walk out.

Peking, Nov. 28.

One of the Legations has received a telegram from a Consul-General at Hankow stating that the lives and property of the nationals whom he represents are in danger.—Reuter.

Hankow, Dec. 6.

The general strike has failed to materialize owing to lack of support from the servants and other employees of foreigners generally, the majority of whom profess satisfaction with their conditions. However, great activity prevails in trade union circles. Two more unions have been formed, the Union of Chinese Employees of Foreign Firms and the Foreigners' Servants' Union.

THE PLAGUE MOVES NORTH

Kiukiang, Nov. 30.

Mr. Sun Fo, General Borodin, the Russian Adviser to the Nationalist Government, and a number of leaders of the Canton Government, are officially reported to have arrived at Kanchow in Southern Kiangsi from Kuangtung. General Chiang Kai-shek, who is still at Nanchang, has sent one of his Aides-de-camp to meet them.—Reuter.

Canton, Dec. 1.

The Political Council has definitely decided that the Nationalist Government shall be removed to Wuchang.

Red Chiefs Move

News has been received here that General Chiang Kai-shek, Commander-in-Chief of the Southern Armies, accompanied by Comrade Bordin, Mr. Sung Sze-wen, Mr. Eugene Chen, Mr. Hsu Chien and others, will arrive here to-morrow or the day after.

BRITISH MINISTER ARRIVES AT HANKOW

Hankow, Dec. 9.

H. M. S. Peterfield with Mr. Lampson aboard arrived at nine o'clock last evening. Later Mr.

Lampson had a conference for some time with the Consul. To-day he will discuss Hankow's problems with local prominent British and other residents.

The labour situation is quiet at present, but the formation of new unions goes on apace, the latest being water-carriers, shoemakers and book-binders.—Reuter.

FIRST BITTER FRUITS OF CONCILIATION

A Missionary Survey of Demoralization Under Red Rule

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

Hankow, Dec. 6.

On arrival at Hankow the unusual condition of the Bund was noticeable. Sandbags and barbed wire showed that preparations had been made against any rush of Chinese into the Concession. But a "peaceful penetration" was much in evidence by the large numbers of Chinese, of all classes, who were walking or sitting on the river front, which until quite recently has been reserved for foreigners. We were told that literally thousands of Chinese were daily wandering to and fro enjoying their new freedom, and unfortunately abusing it by their unmentionable actions, which effectively deter ladies and children especially from the use of what has for long been such a boon to them at this port. I saw the seats full of Chinese, or of their bundles and impedimenta, and had a vision of what the Bund and Gardens at Shanghai may soon be like.

Chinese Fear of Pickets

Along the gangway to the ship from the shore were to be seen "pickets" in uniform, taking what action they pleased with the passing baggage. I saw one man open a basket and annex a huge cabbage, without any apology to the owner thereof, who dared not say anything. Coolies and passengers seem afraid of the pickets. On shore we heard that pickets, in uniform or in plain clothes, were daring enough to arrest and beat servants employed by foreigners, and march them ignominiously through the British Concession, in defiance of the police. We heard of compradores being captured and made to pay ransom, and others being afraid to go out because of threatened violence. To be taken to the Chinese city for treatment by the loud-voiced defenders (!) of freedom and equality did not seem at all alluring to Chinese who could avoid it. Not much confidence was placed by the Chinese in the platitudes about fair trial and just treatment which foreigners are asked to believe would flourish everywhere if only extraterritoriality were abolished.

Processions and Parades

From our ship we witnessed a long procession, with perhaps a thousand men, pass slowly along the whole Bund of the British Concession; they carried white and red flags which were vigorously waved, and a few zealots mounted points of vantage and yelled and waved frantically to stimulate the others and to call for frequent outbursts of shouting. We did not hear clearly what was shouted, but understand it was the usual denunciation of "Imperialism" and of foreigners in general. Some in the procession carried poles or sticks, which looked like formidable weapons, but happily no violence was attempted. It seemed amazing

that such a procession should be allowed to use the foreign Concession for its operations. Stranger still, we saw a motor lorry full of armed Chinese carried past, and a contingent of Chinese soldiers, with arms, landed at the Concession and defiantly marched all along the Bund, apparently just for the joy of asserting themselves as masters of the situation. We heard that processions had paraded the Concessions for several days, and on our second day two other demonstrations were seen in the British Concession, but the French authorities had decided to prevent entry into their Concession, and the processions turned elsewhere, howling their disappointment, but doing nothing violent.

On November '29, however, all processions were prohibited in the Concessions; the points of entry were guarded by armed men from the gunboats, and better order prevailed.

A Prophetic View

There can be little doubt that extremists are trying to force an issue and to claim, by violence of one kind or another, the yielding of foreign Concessions to those who think they have sufficient power to enforce their claim. Hankow is the test case, and a great deal depends on the outcome of these lawless attempts. If the foreign Powers fail to maintain their position until it is legally changed, and are bullied out of the situation which China herself has hitherto regarded as wise and mutually advantageous, then disaster threatens both China and the nationals of the Powers concerned.

The situation at Hankow appeared to us to be approaching what one has heard of about Russia. Whatever name may be given to it, we have a state of lawlessness and tyranny entirely incompatible with the spirit of reform and progress associated with this age. Workmen and servants are compelled to join Unions, or are severely dealt with if they do not. No freedom of the individual is recognized. Unreasonable demands are made from employers, some of which it is impossible to meet without ruin. Threats are made to refuse to allow any servants to work, to boycott completely as regards food and necessities, to cut off water and light, and to make life impossible for foreigners. Thousands of steady working Chinese are to be denied a livelihood and many reduced to starvation, in the hope that the Unions will gain power, and at the same time gratify their spite against foreigners. But agitators and pickets rely upon the military as their support, and when the present officials are appealed to, they usually defend the actions of the disturbers as being "patriotic."

Many of the Southern soldiers are mere lads, looking not more than 15 or 16, and apart from a few officers, we were not impressed with any appearance of smartness or intelligence. They seem to be simply tools in the hands of a few clever and apparently unscrupulous leaders of Bolshevik tendencies.

Anti-Christianity

The troubles fomented in Christian schools and hospitals, and the almost impossible demands made, indicate that Christian philanthropy will meet with much opposition from the "Reds," at least if foreigners have anything at all to do with it. The Rules prepared by those now ruling at Hankow for educational establishments are designed to crush Christian effort; large sums of

money have to be deposited and undertakings given that no Christian teaching be given, while at the same time Communism is to be taught, and only teachers who are "Reds" are to be employed; and the whole is to be entirely under the control of the "Red" government. The aim evidently is to dispense with all foreign assistance unless it be entirely subservient to this particular political party. As regards labour, wages, hours, conditions of service, as well as the engaging and dismissal of workers, all have to be in the hands of the Unions. The employers seem to receive no consideration.

Mob Hunting Trouble

Hankow, Dec. 21.

An unpleasant incident was narrowly averted at 10.30 this morning, when 300 Chinese soldiers tried to march through the Concession along the Bund.

The soldiers were stopped at the British Consulate barrier by marines. A large mob of coolies urged the soldiers to force their way through. A corporal of marines patrolling outside the barrier was attacked by four soldiers and fell back to the barricade. The marines lined the barricade and as the soldiers loaded their rifles they loaded their machine-guns, at which the soldiers dispersed.

A mob is still near by, jeering at the marines.

It is understood that the local Chinese authorities have tendered their apologies to the British Consul.—Reuter.

CANTON LEADERS ARRIVE AT WUCHANG

Wuchang, Dec. 14.

Attention has been focussed mainly on feting the newly arrived members of the Nationalist Government from Canton. The leading members of the party arrived in Hankow last Thursday, and included Comrade Borodin, Russian Adviser to the Nationalist Government, Mr. Eugene Chen, Minister of Finance, and Mrs. Sun Yat-sen. General Chiang Kai-shek has not yet arrived.

On Friday, December 10, a great mass meeting was held at the Reh Ma Chang in front of the Provincial Assembly buildings to welcome the newly-arrived leaders. During the morning long processions wound their way to the meeting place and by noon, when the speeches commenced, a crowd of about 50,000 people had collected. The banners and highly decorated platform for speeches presented a very gay spectacle. Two aeroplanes and a hydroplane circled over the assembly during the proceedings. Borodin was the principal speaker, but his speech lost much of its point owing, on the one hand, to the fact that he spoke at great length and on the other to the necessity of his being interpreted, since he spoke in English.

BORODIN AND HIS TOOLS PREACH HATE

Advocate Overthrow of the British

Hankow, Dec. 21.

A meeting was held last night attended by 3,500 delegates from many associations, both civil and military.

The platform was occupied by representatives of every section of the Cantonese Government.

Seven persons spoke, including Comrade Borodin, Mr. Hsu Chien,

Comrade Sun Fo and Madame Sun Yat-sen.

Comrade Borodin declared that the revolution was only half through, but the half that remained was the most important: it was the overthrow of the British and "their ally Chang Tso-lin and the Fengtien Party. When this is accomplished the country will be peaceful and prosperous. I have come to give my assistance towards the accomplishment of this purpose."

Mr. Sun Fo then spoke. He said: "Many believe that the British are friends of China. This is a mistake. For decades they have played off one Chinese party against another and have continued to stir up strife every time the Chinese people have made a step towards gaining their freedom. Their Minister has been here with sweet words but his heart was sour. The British are working behind our backs in order to destroy us.

The Boycott Weapon

"The only way to combat this is, first, a complete boycott of everything British. This must not only apply to the purchasing of goods but to all branches of industry. The British are dependent on Chinese assistance in 90 per cent. of their business. That assistance must be withdrawn, from the coolie who unloads their ships to the agent or comprador who purchases their export cargo. Secondly, the British have constantly perpetrated acts of atrocity and forced themselves on China, owing to our ancestors' fear of them. We, the Kuomintang, have no such fear and we are resisters of this wanton aggression. All the people must be ready to act with us at the next insult offered us by the British, and the labourers and the Army must combine to drive them out from our country.

The Communist Touch

"Thirdly, the object of this meeting is to explain that we have made arrangements with our brothers in India and other places, of which the British do not dream, to rise with us when we give the signal. When the signal comes their vaunted King will be in the same position as ours. All other Kings will follow and our work, which is revolution of the world's workers, will be accomplished."

The Political Bureau has contributed \$12,000 for anti-British propaganda work and for furtherance of the plans for a boycott.—Reuter.

PICKETS IN CONCESSION

Hankow, Dec. 24.

Last night pickets raided a room in the British Concession occupied by the Chinese foreman of the British Municipal Council coolies. They tied him up and were taking him off to the union headquarters owing to his refusal to accede to the union demands, when a squad of Sikhs effected his release and arrested the pickets. They were tried at the Consular Court this morning and discharged with a caution.

SHOWING THE WHITE FEATHER

British Memorandum to the Powers

Shanghai, Dec. 26.

The following is the British Memorandum to the Powers, embodying conciliatory gestures towards Red China, which encouraged

a campaign of intensified hate:—

For some time past H. M. Government have watched with growing anxiety the situation in China and they believe this anxiety will be shared by Governments of interested Powers. Five years ago the Powers assembled at Washington, and taking into consideration circumstances then existing in China, they agreed amongst themselves in conjunction with representatives of the Chinese Government that their future policy should be guided by certain general principles designed to safeguard the integrity and independence of China to promote her political and economic development and rehabilitation of her finances. It was agreed to grant her certain increases on her treaty tariff in order to provide revenue required for these purposes. It was further agreed that a commission should examine the question of extraterritoriality with a view to amending the system now in force by eliminating abuses and accretions and by removal of unnecessary limitations on China's sovereignty.

Process of Disintegration

(2) Unfortunately the conference did not meet for four years and during that period the situation had greatly deteriorated. During a succession of civil wars authority of Peking Government had diminished almost to vanishing point, while in the south a powerful nationalist government at Canton definitely disputed the right of the Government at Peking to speak on behalf of China or enter into binding engagements in her name. This process of disintegration, civil war and waning of central authority continued with increased acceleration after the tariff conference had met until eventually conference negotiations came to an end because there was no longer a Government with whom to negotiate.

(3) A Commission on extraterritoriality has meanwhile completed its labours and presented its report, but here again we are faced with a similar difficulty due to disintegration of China. Recommendations contained in the report where suggesting certain reforms capable of being carried into immediate effect presuppose for their fulfilment and execution the existence of a Government possessing authority to enter into engagements on behalf of the whole of China.

Strict British Neutrality

(4) During all these civil wars it has been the consistent policy of H. M. Government to abstain from any interference between the warring factions of rival Governments. Despite disorders which civil war engenders and grievous losses inflicted on vast commercial interests, both Chinese and foreign, H. M. Government have declined to associate themselves with any particular faction or interfere in any way in civil commotions. H. M. Government believe that the Powers have adopted a similar attitude and that this is and will continue to be the only right attitude to maintain.

(5) The situation which exists in China to-day is thus entirely different from that which faced the Powers at the time they framed the Washington Treaties. In the present state of confusion, though some progress has been made by means of local negotiation and agreements with regional Governments, it has not been possible for the Powers to proceed with the larger programme of treaty revision which was foreshadowed at Washington or to arrive at a settlement of any of the outstanding questions relating to the position of foreigners in China. The political disintegration in China has however been accompanied by a powerful nationalist movement which aimed at gaining for China an equal place among the nations, and any failure to meet this movement with sympathy and understanding would not respond to the real intentions of the Powers towards China.

(6) H. M. Government after carefully reviewing the position desire to submit their considered opinion as to the course which the Washington Treaty Powers should now adopt. H. M. Government propose that these Governments shall issue a statement setting forth the essential facts of the

situation; declaring their readiness to negotiate on treaty revision and all other outstanding questions as soon as the Chinese themselves have constituted a government and to pursue a constructive policy in harmony with the spirit of the Washington Conference, but developed and adapted to meet the altered circumstances of the present time.

Modification of Treaties

(7) H. M. Government propose that in this joint declaration the Powers should make it clear that in their constructive policy they desire to go as far as possible towards meeting the legitimate aspirations of the Chinese nation and they should abandon the idea that the economic and political development of China can only be secured under foreign tutelage and should declare their recognition of her right to enjoy tariff autonomy as soon as she herself has settled and promulgated a new national tariff. They should expressly disclaim any intention of forcing foreign control upon an unwilling China. While calling upon China to maintain that respect for sanctity of the treaties which is the primary obligation common to all civilized states, the Powers should yet recognize both the essential justice of the Chinese claim for treaty revision and difficulty under present conditions of negotiating new treaties in the place of old, and they should therefore modify their traditional attitude of rigid insistence on the strict letter of treaty rights.

No Minor Complaints To Be Made

During this possibly very prolonged period of uncertainty, the Powers can only, in the view of H. M. Government, adopt an expectant attitude and endeavour to promote development so far as possible in conformity with the realities of the situation, so that ultimately when treaty revision becomes possible, it will be found that part at least of the revision had already been effected on satisfactory lines. It would therefore be wise to abandon the policy of ineffective protest over minor matters, reserving protest which should then be made effective by united action only for cases where vital interests are at stake. Every case should be considered on its merits and the declaration should show that the Powers are prepared to consider in a sympathetic spirit any reasonable proposals that the Chinese authorities, where situated, may make even if contrary to strict interpretation of treaty rights, in return for fair and considerate treatment of foreign interests by them. The declaration should show that it is the policy of the Powers to endeavour to maintain harmonious relations with China without waiting for or insisting on the prior establishment of a strong central Government.

The Tariff Increase

(8) It is earnestly hoped (by) H. M. Government that the Powers will agree to adopt the principles of the policy outlined above and apply them to the realities of the present situation. Certain recommendations in the report of the Commission on extraterritoriality referred to in paragraph 3 above and certain other reforms not covered by that Commission's report, but falling under the general heading of extraterritoriality, can be carried into effect even in present conditions without great delay. There is, however, one step of more immediate importance which in the view of H. M. Government the Powers should agree to take at once. H. M. Government believe that an endeavour should be made to undo the evil results which have flowed from failure of the Tariff Conference to implement the promises as to Tariff increases made by the Powers to China nearly five years ago and they propose therefore that the Powers should agree to immediate and unconditional grant of the Washington surtaxes.

(9) By the China Customs Treaty signed at Washington on February 9, 1922, the Powers promised to grant China certain Tariff increases (commonly known as Washington surtaxes) "for such purposes and subject to such conditions" as the special conference might determine. That special confer-

ence is the Tariff Conference, which after a delay of nearly four years met in Peking on October 28, 1925, and has now to all intents and purposes definitely failed. The promised surtaxes have not been granted. The foreign Delegations were not satisfied with the assurances which the Chinese Delegation offered at the session of March 18 as to the purposes to which the Chinese Government would themselves devote the proceeds of surtaxes.

They were prepared to grant them only on conditions which ensured that the proceeds would be placed under foreign control and applied in great part to liquidation of unsecured debt.

Britain Adverse on Unsecured Debt

(10) From the very outset H. M. Government were opposed to the question of unsecured debt being dealt with by the Tariff Conference at all, and they frankly expressed their views in a confidential memorandum communicated to the Consortium Powers early in 1923. They foresaw that it might defeat the intentions of the Washington Conference which were to assist the economic and political development of China, and not to tighten foreign control. They held that the object of the concessions proposed at the Washington Conference being to benefit China the principal purposes to which the Customs surtax should be devoted ought to be productive objects such as railway construction and social or economic reforms which would be of permanent benefit to China as a whole. The most promising of these reforms was in their opinion the abolition of likin, which moreover was expressly contemplated in the Treaty itself.

(11) It has been argued that debt consolidation would also be a permanent benefit to China because it would restore China's credit. This argument would doubtless be valid if there were a Government in effective control of the whole country, but in China to-day debt consolidation could only enable those in power in Peking to resort to fresh ruinous and unproductive borrowing.

H. M. Government therefore opposed making consolidation of unsecured debts one of the purposes to be attained by the Tariff Conference, although their own nationals were directly interested in the funding of some of these debts.

Britain Against Extended Foreign Control

(12) A further objection to the inclusion of unsecured debts amongst the subjects to be dealt with at the Tariff Conference was brought into relief by the grant in principle of Tariff Autonomy. That raised at once in acute form the revenues. H. M. Government viewed with grave misgiving the proposal that foreign control should be extended over additional revenues which might be increased by tariff autonomy. In 1921 it was natural that the Powers should demand guarantees for the due fulfilment of benevolent purposes which the Washington Conference aimed at achieving. But what might have been practicable in 1921 is no longer possible in 1926. It was obvious that China would not now submit to any extension of foreign control either for debt consolidation or for the abolition of likin and it seemed to H. M. Government that for the Powers to unite in an attempt to impose control upon an unwilling China would be entirely opposed to the spirit of the Washington treaties and to the policy which H. M. Government had consistently advocated. At the same time H. M. Government felt it was essential that the Washington promises so long overdue should be implemented. Accordingly on May 28 last, in reply to an inquiry from the U.S. Government as to the attitude of H. M. Government towards the Tariff Conference, they proposed in a memorandum, copy of which is annexed hereto, that the Powers should abstain from any attempt to exact guarantees or conditions but should forthwith authorize the levy of surtaxes.

Unconditional Levy of Surtaxes Proposed

(13) Owing to the collapse of the Conference no action on this proposal was possible. The situation, however, suddenly developed in the very direc-

tion in which anticipated when the proposal was made. The Cantonese did in fact seize the Washington surtaxes by levying, in defiance of treaties, certain additional taxes on the foreign trade of the port. H.M. Government have with much reluctance joined a protest against the new taxes for the sake of maintaining solidarity with the Powers, but they are not satisfied that this is the right policy for the present situation. They regret that they did not more insistently press their views at an earlier stage of the Conference, but they think that it is still not too late, despite the protest already made, to return to the alternative course proposed in their memorandum of May 28. H.M. Government therefore strongly urge that the Powers should now authorize the levy of Washington surtaxes unconditionally throughout China. They hope that this may provide a basis for regularizing the position at Canton.

(14) The principal objection that will probably be made to this proposal is that in strict logic it would amount to condoning a breach of treaty. This argument however does not sufficiently take into account the realities of the situation. The basic facts of the present situation are that treaties are now admittedly in many respects out of date and that in any attempt to secure revision the Chinese are confronted on the one hand with the internal difficulty of their own disunion and on the other hand with the external difficulty of obtaining unanimous concurrence of the Powers. The latest instance of this is the failure of the attempt to alter the tariff of 1858. H.M. Government attach the greatest importance to the sanctity of treaties, but they believe that this principle may best be main-

immediate and unconditional grant of the Washington surtaxes. Lest it be supposed that the grant of surtaxes may favour one faction at the expense of another and so provide a further incentive to civil war, H.M. Government deem it important to point out that as no conditions would be attached to the grant, the proceeds of surtaxes would not necessarily be remitted by Com-

missioners of Customs to the Custodian banks at Shanghai. It would in each case be for competent Chinese authorities to decide all questions as to the disposition and banking of these additional revenues. H. M. Government would be glad to learn at the earliest possible moment whether the Powers agree to the unconditional grant of Washington surtaxes.

THE ATTACK UPON THE BRITISH CONCESSION AT HANKOW

Deliberate Attempt of Agitators to Create Incident by Inciting Foreigners to Bloodshed

AN EYE-WITNESS TELLS THE STORY

Shanghai, Jan. 8.

It is fortunate for an early and perfect understanding of the Hankow incident that Mr. E. S. Wilkinson, of Shanghai, happened to be there on a business visit. He saw the whole affair at close quarters from beginning to end and kindly gave a representative of the "North-China Daily News" a full account of it. It is important to emphasize what Mr. Wilkinson says in his story, that it plainly was obvious the mob deliberately were egged on by agitators, many of whom were in uniform, not so much to do any damage, nor even to capture the British Concession, but to provoke the defenders into firing, for a purpose which will be equally apparent. Mr. Wilkinson came away very greatly

serve to show the temper of the men.

The Trouble Begins

About mid-day on Monday, crowds began to collect round the Customs building at the end of the British Bund, placards depicting John Bull in various uncomplimentary attitudes were displayed and fiery speeches were delivered by uniformed orators. The position was sufficiently threatening for the Naval and local defence forces to be called out, but no definite action was taken by the crowd until about 2.30 p.m.

As the time passed, more and more men could be seen going about in the crowd, waving white flags and inciting the people. About 2.30 p.m., the agitators suddenly left and a number of uniformed pickets went on a tour of the Concession, riding in rickshas, but no notice was taken of them. Very shortly afterwards a dense crowd of quite 5,000 people moved forward towards the wire barricade at the end of the Bund and began throwing stones, but even then the men at the barricades still allowed legitimate traffic to pass through two openings in the wire.

The defence force showed great forbearance and it was only when one of the special police was struck in the face with a stone that he hit out at the men around him with his bâton, this being the first incident which possibly could have been urged as likely to increase the temper of the crowd. An advance-guard of small boys, supported by a number of coolies some distance farther back, took up the stone-throwing with greater vigour

was increasing and it is no exaggeration to say that one could hear the noise of the stones falling on the steel helmets of the defenders like the rattling of drums. The men were kept ducking this way and that and doing whatever they could to avoid the stones thrown at close quarters. Every now and again one would have his face laid open by a stone, but he simply would fall back to have a piece of plaster put on and then would resume his place in the line.

Eventually the officer in charge considered it wise to withdraw the line of marines from the barricade to the open square of sandbag defences in the centre of the Bund. This was answered by a rush by the mob, who tried to remove the hose-lines, so the Marines again advanced and drove them back. The Chinese, however, succeeded in pulling up the barbed wire barricade, thus leaving the whole front beyond the sandbags entirely open. At this moment, a heavily-built Chinese, with the typical mannerisms of the "Dare-to-Dies," came through the crowd and, advancing to within a few feet of the line of Marines, dared them to kill him, affording definite proof that the intention was to provoke a firing incident.

This man soon was bundled away from the front line and a few moments later there occurred one of the most serious incidents of the day. There was a sudden rush to the foreshore on the left of the defending line. Owing to the steep slope of the foreshore down to the river, it was difficult to understand the immediate objective of the mob, but, in view of what happened, it only can be surmised that they had decided to attack some of the Naval men who were in isolated positions on the foreshore. To repel this attack a small party of Marines, regular and special police doubled down to the foreshore, where there occurred a skirmish which showed to what a pitch the mob had been worked up. The Chinese must have assumed our men had loaded rifles, for all the time they had been daring them to fire, and in any case they could see the fixed bayonets, but hundreds of them, armed with



SANDBAG BARRICADE GUARDED BY BLUEJACKETS FROM H. M. S. BEE

tained by a sympathetic adjustment of treaty rights to the equitable claims of the Chinese. Protests should be reserved for cases where there is an attempt at wholesale repudiation of treaty obligations or an attack upon legitimate and vital interests of foreigners in China, and in these cases protests should be made effective by united action of the Powers.

(15) H. M. Government have consistently carried out the obligation of full and frank consultation imposed on all Powers alike by Article 7, 9, of the Powers Pact and it has been their constant aim—sometimes even when this involved a sacrifice of their own opinion—to maintain solidarity of the Powers. It is in pursuance of this aim that H.M. Government are now communicating to the Powers this statement of principle by which they believe their policy should be guided in future. They feel assured that the Powers will share the anxiety of H. M. Government to act towards China in the spirit which inspired the Washington treaties and it is their earnest hope that the Powers will agree that the spirit cannot better be fulfilled than by adopting the policy which is now presented for consideration.

The Spirit of Washington

(16) It seems to H. M. Government that the first step towards carrying this new policy into effect should be the

impressed with the courage, patience and self-control of 80 to 100 men who for several hours, without a break, resisted the attack of at least 5,000, and probably very many more, and yet refrained from firing.

Mr. Wilkinson's steamer did not leave until the excitement was over, and he reached Shanghai on Jan. 7. His graphic account of the happenings follows:—

The Cantonese had proclaimed a three-days holiday, ostensibly for New Year celebrations, and these were to terminate with a lantern procession through or around the Concessions and an illuminated launch procession up and down the river, to take place at 8 o'clock on Monday evening. Various minor, but nevertheless awkward, incidents happened during these three days, one occurring when about 100 unarmed Chinese troops entered the British Concession on Sunday morning and went to the Hankow Club compound. They behaved obscenely, endeavoured to enter the club and refused to leave when so requested. On the arrival of a small patrol of Marines, they were ejected without further trouble. This was but one incident, but it will



SAME BARRICADE AFTER CANTONESE ENTERED THE CONCESSION

and soon it reached such a pitch that it was decided to call on the Fire Brigade. An engine was brought into position close to the barricade and then the temper of the crowd became very ugly, the people apparently being incensed at the sight of Chinese firemen manning the hose-lines, and as a consequence the order to turn on the water was withheld.

A Barrage of Stones

The stone-throwing all the time

stones and bamboo poles, rushed at the little force.

Fight on the Foreshore

For five minutes there was a very brisk fight. Our men used bâtons and their fists whilst they could but in some cases they were forced to make play with their bayonets. One of the sailors tripped and fell and before his comrades could get him out he had been badly mangled, his face and head being cut open,

besides being bruised and battered about the body. Another sailor was bayoneted through the leg with his own weapon, which was wrenched away from him and subsequently carried off. Not a few Chinese were wounded in this affray and were taken off by their own people, whilst those of our own men who went down were taken to hospital.

This blood-letting seemed to prove to the mob that the defenders could look after themselves even without firing and for a while there was a lull, during which six or seven Chinese military police came on the scene, but even their presence could not keep the mob quiet for long and the Marines were sent to clear the foreshore and establish a line across the Bund and the foreshore down to the river, with two or three Lewis guns in the centre. The mob became more excited and determined between 5 and 6 o'clock, when darkness began to fall and stone-throwing was renewed. Things grew more awkward when a number of them gained the shelter of a ricksha stand lining the Bund roadway and from behind it rained stones on the defenders at close quarters, so orders were given to demolish this piecemeal as the chance occurred. It was nearly down when the mob closed in to the line of the original wire barricade, seized the remains of the ricksha stand and started a bonfire near Ewo No. 1 Jetty, but fortunately their incendiary efforts stopped short at this.

Chinese Officers' Warning

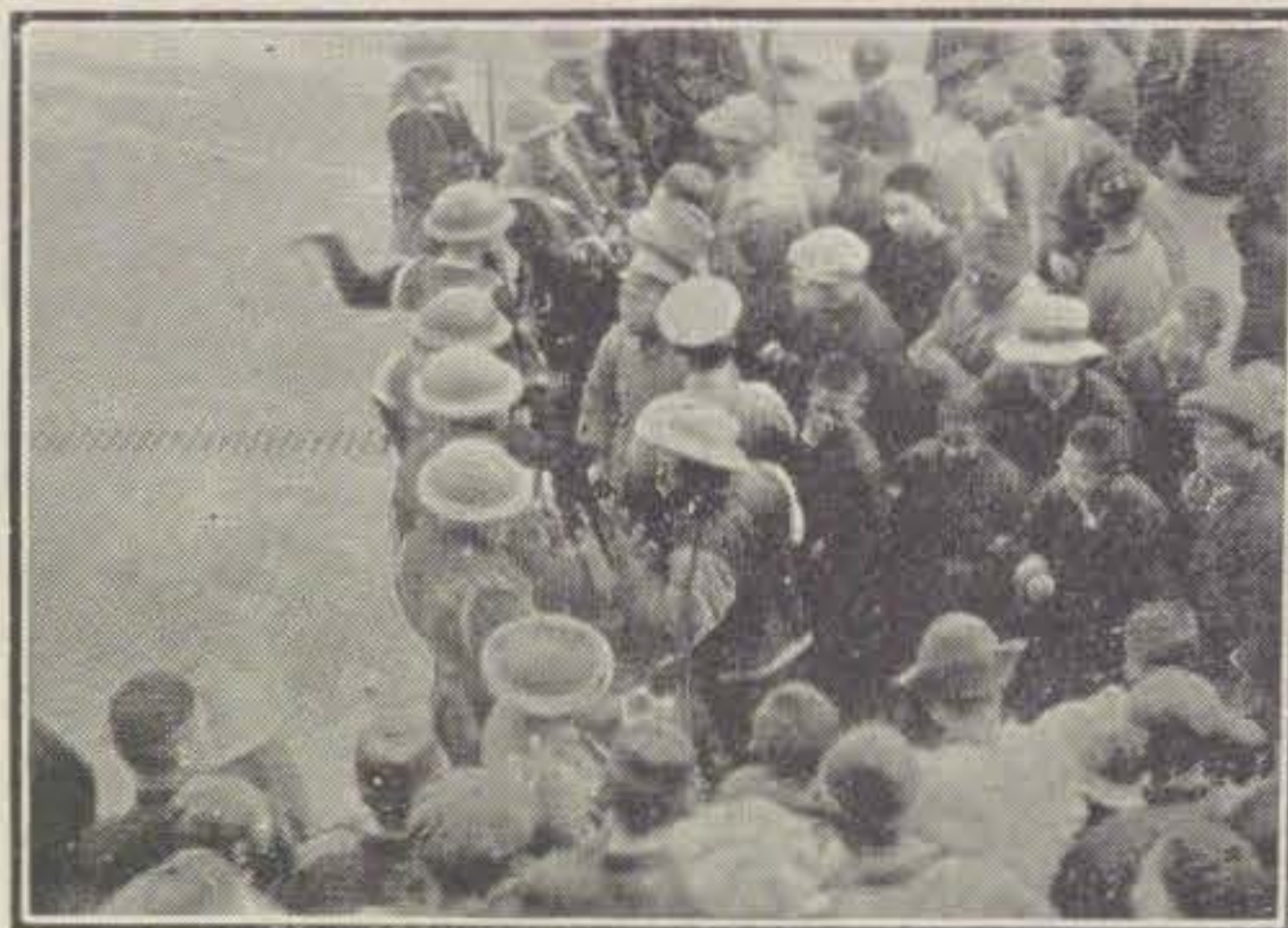
During the afternoon communication with the Chinese military authorities had been opened and they had promised to send a force to restore order, but, with the exception of the handful of men previously mentioned, none were seen until after 6 o'clock, when a squad of perhaps 20 men arrived. Through an interpreter, the officer in command of these men informed the British authorities that the mob was entirely out of control and that, if a single shot should be fired, not a single foreigner in Hankow would be left alive. He suggested that the Chinese police should be allowed to take control and that the British defence force should retire. This proposal was accepted and all the Marines and sailors were withdrawn to the sandbag defences.

Despite the obligation they had accepted, the Chinese police apparently did nothing and by 7 o'clock the mob had so far advanced that the sandbag fort was almost entirely surrounded. About this time, Mr. Goffe, the British Consul-General, got into touch with a Chinese military officer, who went into the Ewo building to hasten the arrival of troops. These, apparently, actually all the time had been close at hand, for within a quarter of an hour they marched in. At this time the situation, from the defenders' point of view, was almost hopeless, as they were practically surrounded and stone-throwing was going on as vigorously as ever, despite the supposed truce. The only further action by the British was to withdraw their Lewis guns, mounted on a motor truck, to a position diagonally across the Bund in front of the Ewo building, in order to be clear of the surrounding mob, whilst the Marines fell back from the sandbag defences and took up positions by the wagon.

The Chinese troops were posted inside the Concession, from the Ewo Road to the foreshore, to hold back the crowd. Several of their officers then mounted the sandbags and harangued the crowd, telling them that, if they would go back, the foreigners had agreed to retire to

Ewo Road. For about 15 minutes the crowd would not budge, but finally they were persuaded, and about 7.45 p.m. there was a general retirement. By 8 p.m. the whole Bund was clear and was held by a line of Chinese troops at the level of Ewo Road. The interpreter then

of Mr. G. V. T. Marshall and displayed the same coolness and even temper as did every naval unit, from the bluejackets to the officer in command. Everything was quiet when I left the same night. The whole affair was deliberate provocation in an attempt to make



BRITISH SAILORS BEING PRESSED BY THE CROWD

asked the British to retire altogether from the Bund, in order to avoid further trouble.

Carefully Arranged Plan

It was after these happenings that a clash with the mob occurred in the rear of the Concession, in connexion with the lantern procession, but everything on the Bund remained quiet. I noticed, however, that the illuminated launch parade immediately commenced to pass the Bund, going slowly down river and returning about 9 p.m., with all the sirens sounding.

Patience of Defence Force

Mr. Wilkinson concluded:—

Piecing all these events together, it was obvious to an onlooker that the whole proceedings were carefully timed and arranged by the agitators, who disappeared immediately before the actual attack on the Concession began and who re-appeared immediately after its

our men fire, with no more than 80 or 100 men opposed to quite 5,000 and probably more.

AN INTIMATE ACCOUNT

How the Riot Was Engineered; The Tactics of Russian and Chinese Leaders

Below we give the greater part of a personal letter from a highly responsible resident, which we believe has been published elsewhere in slightly altered form:—

Here in Hankow, conditions have been getting steadily worse for months past. Ever since their arrival the Cantonese had spared no pains to inflame the minds of the inhabitants—and always against the British. Strikes were engineered by the highly democratic method of organizing the different classes of



PART OF THE MOB WHICH ATTEMPTED TO FORCE THE THIN LINE OF BRITISH BLUEJACKETS

conclusion. One standing by from mid-day to 8 p.m. could not fail to be impressed with the wonderful patience and spirit of the defence force. It was a terrific test of temper and endurance, for the sailors, marines, and others had to stand for hours, being bombarded with stones without being allowed to make an effective reply. It had to be seen to be realized. It was a wonderful proof of their discipline that not one man lost his temper, in spite of many being wounded and all of them receiving every possible provocation. The local defence force was in charge

workers into unions by threats of violence to the wives and families of all who remained outside the unions. Subscriptions were for the benefit of the organizers. Fantastically impossible terms were then demanded of the employers, and the strike was on.

Threats of Murder

There was no real inclination to strike among the workers—in the great majority of cases they were quite satisfied; but they were induced to come out by the more immediate threat of murder as against the probability of starvation which

waited on their cessation of work.

By way of making trouble where there was none, the Cantonese passed armed troops through the Concession in varying numbers, hoping always for a clash with British forces. The larger bodies and the numerous "peaceful" processions were invariably followed by a crowd of rowdies, shouting and looking for trouble. Protests were absolutely disregarded; but, when faced firmly, the Cantonese would back down and apologize. (It is interesting to note that a large number of these troops was armed with Mauser pistols, or an imitation of the same.)

Scarcely an hour, certainly no day, has passed without alarms, and the volunteers (perhaps 100 men) had more than once been called out. In addition, there were about 120 police (40 Sikhs and 80 Chinese), and 50 or 60 marines and sailors from the ships.

Marines Pelted with Stones

This was the state of things on January 3, when, going down to the Bund (water front) about 3 p.m., I found the barricades held by the sailors and marines, with police in the rear, against a mob which pelted them with large stones, to which the British, under strict orders, made no reply. The two front rows of the crowd consisted of small boys. These, under the loud encouragement of their elders, did a large share of the stone-throwing. These, then, were the tactics of the Russo-Chinese leaders—to compel us to fire upon an unarmed mob containing children. Little they cared for the lives of a few score or a few hundreds of Chinese coolies. They would probably have taken considerable care that a sufficient number of those children were killed to serve as propaganda to inflame the whole population of Central China. Think of the joy with which such an happening would have been seized on by gentlemen in England! But the British officer (you will hear of him again some day) held his fire. And the marines and sailors stood there—"Aunt Sallies" for a crowd of filthy Chinese, so that the senior officer of another navy said to his officers, "When we can do what the British did yesterday, we can say that we have got discipline in our navy."

With a fine indifference to the urgency of the situation it was nearly 7 p.m. before the Chinese brought up a force to assist in restoring law and order. The crowd, encouraged by immunity, was rather difficult to handle. The Chinese officer asked that the British should retire one block while he induced the crowd to depart. No sooner, however, did the British go back than the crowd swarmed all over the Bund after them, for all the world like a colony of black beetles, and it was with the greatest difficulty that they were finally got rid of. Even then we were not finished, for a big lantern procession had to be dealt with before nine o'clock that night, causing a good deal of trouble.

Word had come from the Chinese that if the British marines were withdrawn to their ships, order would be maintained on the Bund. Although they had given their word, they had not the slightest intention of keeping it, and the next day, January 4, they began again to hold their meetings of denunciation, and to swarm over the Bund. At 2 p.m. the shouting and stoning recommenced. The police were withdrawn to their barracks; and, from

then onwards, the Municipal Buildings were in a state of siege. About three o'clock the news came in that the Chinese were sticking up posters stating that the Concession would be taken over by midnight. At that time, the statement seemed a trifle premature.

The temper of the crowd became more menacing as it rapidly grew in size. The Chinese authorities continued to temporize, and to insist that no harm was intended. That the mob was throwing bricks through the windows of the Municipal Buildings did not disturb their complacency in any way.

Volunteer Headquarters Invested

The Volunteer headquarters was next invested by the mob. A guard of Chinese soldiers had been placed here, but they would never think of interfering with such a peaceful and patriotic gathering. However, half-a-dozen (no more) volunteers, tired of being baited, sallied forth armed only with sticks, and crowd and soldiers fled like spilt quicksilver in all directions. No need to dwell on the moral of this incident.

A Humiliating Position

The position at the Municipal Buildings was very grave indeed by eight o'clock in the evening, and the ten or a dozen special constables pulled themselves together to do they knew not what. Then, and not till then, a representative of the Chinese authorities arrived, and a meeting was held with the British Consul-General, a representative of the Admiral, and Municipal officials. At this meeting the Chinese guaranteed the safety of all in the Concession, provided the Volunteers were disbanded, and the sailors and marines withdrawn to the ships. This was agreed to, and all night long the Volunteers toiled, taking their arms and equipment on board the flagship, H.M.S. Bee. The humiliation was bitter. What made it worse was the feeling of bewilderment that we should be giving in to such a crew, without a single shot fired. Subsequent to this, however, the volunteers withdrew into the Asiatic Petroleum Co.'s building on the Bund (a large and very defensible structure), and, hoisting the Union Jack, defied the Cantonese. They were joined by most of the remaining able-bodied men in the Port, and, being possessed of a quantity of food, and more arms than the Chinese were aware of, made good their position. This was the one bright spot in a miserable business.

"Kill the Foreigners!"

Next day (January 5), by 5.30 a.m. the crowd again assembled before the Municipal offices, shouting "Kill the foreigners!" Seeing that the majority of the Municipal staff lived on the premises this was far from reassuring. The crowd continued to grow in strength and ferocity, but the Chinese officials on the spot insisted that they were not dangerous, only "high spirited." They offered to provide an escort should the staff desire to seek safety elsewhere; but again solemnly guaranteed that lives and property were perfectly safe.

Rather than go empty-handed, abandoning all property, the staff elected to stay. Before noon, the option was no longer theirs. The place was besieged as it had been the night before; help there was none, and the Europeans had to be careful not to show themselves at the windows. The British Consul, helpless and bedevilled, could only telephone to the Chinese Commissioner for Foreign Affairs, who sent

promises in plenty, but no help. The Admiral, while expressing his deepest sympathy, explained that he might not land now, excepting to bring away our dead bodies. This last phrase added considerably to the interest of the situation.

A few loads of bricks having arrived, the mob set about breaking down the door of the Municipal Building about 2 p.m. The Europeans (six men and one woman) now left their quarters, and assembled in a lavatory, so as to be together for mutual protection. It must have been a trying experience for a girl who has only been married for a few weeks, when

off to the French Bund, where launches were busy taking the refugees off to vessels in the stream.

In retrospect, it must be admitted that the affair was very cleverly managed from the Chinese side. They said they would take the Concession by midnight (January 4), and they did so. The crowd, which they claimed to be beyond control, was assembled, moved about and dissolved at will. Compared to regular troops, its mobility would be as that of a sailing ship to a steamer. It was originally formed by sending criers with gongs, etc., round the countryside, and brought in by special



A FRENZIED MOB LOOTING A FOREIGN STORE AT HANKOW

her husband handed her a revolver, and told her to shoot herself rather than be taken by the mob. The latter, having broken in the door, proceeded to wreck the offices, throwing the contents into the road. Then, having overcome the resistance of the guard, they broke into the barrack yard, and the Europeans found themselves in the centre of a howling, fighting mob. This, coming on the top of the message about "dead bodies," produced a feeling of tense anticipation, rarely surpassed even in the best regulated films. And this situation endured for upwards of half an hour. It really looked as if our numbers were up. And then the unexpected happened. It had been drizzling since mid-day, and this now turned to heavy rain. The crowd (unaware of the proximity of the Europeans) felt its ardour diminish and, seeing no further worlds to conquer, allowed itself to be brought under control by the police and soldiery.

Although the Chinese authorities certainly did not want a foreign massacre, they had no intention of firing to prevent it. Motor cars and an escort were forthcoming, and the Europeans were whisked

trains. So much for the spontaneity of the movement.

A word of special recognition is due to the Police Superintendent, John Law, a man of wooden courage. Himself a marked man, he took the motor-cars back to bring away the secretary of the Council and his family, who were besieged, and subsequently made a third trip in another part of the Concession to rescue another party. The Navy were splendid, as always. No blame attaches to them.

AMERICAN PAPER'S REPORT

Tribute to Magnificent Courage and Self-Control of British Marines

The following version of the riot story appeared in the "Hankow Herald", an American journal known to be decidedly sympathetic with the "Nationalist" movement:—

Hankow, Jan. 4.

A riot, which may cost the life of one German, and has put three British sailors in the hospital, besides causing considerable injuries to a number of naval men and special constables, and which for



A CANTONESE RED SECTION READY TO ASSIST THE MOB

a few hours yesterday afternoon threatened the safety of the British Concession, took place at noon yesterday on the British Bund in front of the Custom House.

At twelve o'clock noon yesterday a large crowd of coolies gathered on the foreshore of the British Concession and swarmed about the foot of the Custom House. They were bent on holiday festivities, and no one was particularly disturbed about their presence. Speakers of the student class soon rose upon boxes in their midst and began to harangue them. Beginning with a history of British indignity to China, they recited a series of ills which had befallen China in recent years, all of which they laid to the doors of Great Britain. Their voices became louder as they became more excited, and they soon worked themselves into a state of hysteria. The mob, which in half an hour had grown from a few hundreds to thousands, were quickly invested with the spirit of the speakers, and from a holiday crowd they turned into a milling mass of humanity shrieking for vengeance.

The crowd was growing so large that it began to spread on to the British Concession Bund. The police became anxious, and through peaceable means endeavoured to get them to move back. The crowd moved, but only to gather up bricks and stones which were sprinkled about the foreshore. They opened an attack upon the police which promised to end in the same manner as that of June 11, 1925, when the police and marines withstood the mob that attacked them as long as was humanly possible, and then fired as a last resort to save the Concession from being destroyed.

From 12.30 noon yesterday, until 1.30, in the brief space of one hour, the crowd worked itself into a state of fury until it shrieked and howled. The police were rendered helpless. Bricks and stones were hurled at them as the crowd moved in upon the Concession. A number of the special constables were injured, particularly Mr. H. E. Smith, of Mustard & Co., whose face was badly torn by a brick.

Assistance was asked from the navy to defend the Concession, and sailors and marines were larded to reinforce the police and special constables. The Volunteers were mobilized at headquarters, but did not go on active duty.

Naval Men Injured

J. J. Reed, of H. M. S. Woodlark, was knocked unconscious by bamboo poles wielded by fifteen or twenty coolies who attacked him. J. Charlock, of H.M.S. Magnolia, went to his assistance, as Reed was being pounded while insensible on the ground. One of the coolies took Reed's rifle from his helpless hands, and plunged the bayonet into Charlock's thigh, which brought Charlock to the ground. F. H. Hunt, of H. M. S. Woodlark, was another casualty, having been beaten unconscious by the mob, his helmet torn away and his head badly bashed. All three were removed to the Catholic Mission Hospital, where they are now being cared for.

A great number of others sustained injuries which were created at the British Volunteer Headquarters, but throughout the entire affair not a British rifle was loaded, and not a British bayonet was used. The men had orders not to injure the Chinese, and in the carrying out of these orders, suffered badly. Holding their hands they pushed the crowd back, being beaten with poles and pelted with bricks and stones, and gradually forced the

thousands of infuriated coolies outside the barrier on the Bund.

By this time coolies at the rear of the mob had torn up and removed the barbed wire barricades which had been coiled at either side of the road, so that it was impossible to block off the street. Resistance was maintained against the crowd with a single line of bluejackets, marines and police, which, in the face of the odds against them, was truly heroic.

Magnificent Courage Displayed

The behaviour of the marines and sailors in the landing forces is worthy of special mention. Their courage was magnificent and their self-control deserves the highest admiration and praise. It seemed many times between the hours of half-past one and four o'clock that their officers must give the order to fire in order to save the Concession from being invaded and to prevent the men defending it from being torn limb from limb—but the word which would have brought death into the ranks of the mob and dispersed them immediately was never given. Had any but the coolest and most experienced had charge of the defending party, there would have been many deaths to record this morning among the crowd that gathered on the Bund.

Finally, after the greatest crisis had been passed, at half-past five in the afternoon, Chinese soldiers appeared upon the scene and members of the political office addressed the crowd. Between their endeavours they quieted them down and order was restored, although the crowd did not disperse. Finally the authorities requested the British to withdraw their armed forces for the distance of a block and they would guarantee that the crowd would leave. This was done, and as soon as the marines and naval forces were drawn a block away, the crowd began to drift away. By eight o'clock the Bund was clear.

German Attacked

Mr. E. Burmeister, manager of Mee-Yeh Handels Compagnie, on the S. A. D. Bund, was almost hacked to pieces yesterday afternoon by knives wielded by coolies on Sin Sung Road, and is lying near death's door at the International Hospital.

Mr. Burmeister had been out to visit Dr. Clyde, at the Melotto Hospital, yesterday afternoon, in the native city, and was returning to his home, when he was attacked by a crowd on Sin Seng Road shortly after seven o'clock. Mr. Burmeister, who is a German, knew nothing of the demonstration which had been staged on the British Bund, and was proceeding along Sin Seng Road when suddenly the cry of "Kill the foreigner," went up. He was attacked by a mob with knives in their hands, and in a few moments was stabbed thirty-six times, and was a mass of blood from head to foot.

He dragged himself to the nearest barricade manned by a British landing party, on Hunan Road, and was immediately assisted to the International Hospital by Dr. F. Wendt. Mr. Burmeister was at once taken to the operating room, where he was attended to by Dr. Wendt. He suffers thirty-six knife gashes and it is questionable whether he will live.

The Concession Captured

Hankow, Jan. 5.

The anti-British situation in Hankow, which had come to a head on Monday afternoon in an

attack upon the British Concession by mobs of coolies, and which was quelled and dispersed by eight o'clock Monday evening by native armed police and troops, assumed worse proportions than ever yesterday, beginning shortly after two o'clock in the afternoon.

An agreement had been reached yesterday morning between the British Concession and Chinese officials that British marines, sailors and police would be withdrawn, and that the Chinese authorities would police and maintain peace and order in the Concession, with the assistance of their own armed troops.

Accordingly, yesterday afternoon the foreshore off the British Bund was marked with groups of armed Nationalist soldiers, and the Bund itself with Chinese armed police. All British special civilian police and foreigners of the regular police were withdrawn. The Chinese took over.

Shortly after two o'clock a rumour gained headway in the native city that the Nationalist Government had taken over the British Concession. Thousands of curious Chinese flocked in to see what it looked like under new rule. Finding that the Concession was merely being policed by their own men, and that it had not actually been taken away from the British, the cry went up to "Take it now!"

Agitators Busy

The ever-present agitators got busy. They harangued the mobs which crowded the British Bund from one end to the other. The mobs needed little of it, however, being all primed for action. A foreigner appeared on the street. A howl went up and they rushed. It was a woman, and luckily a few men near her assisted her into the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank Building. Another foreigner was spied on the sidewalk. The crowd howled and were off after him. He escaped into the side gate of Holt's Building. Other foreigners appeared on the Bund and were greeted with rocks, spat at, chased and beaten. It was decidedly unsafe. The Chinese police and soldiery were helpless. They argued with the crowd and pleaded with them, but to no effect.

Squads of coolies then started a round of the Concession, removing the barricades. Sandbags which had been stacked up at the entrances to all the Concession roads were torn open, the sand scattered in the street, and the sacks taken away. Barbed wire barricades were removed bodily, as were all other obstructions. The crowds howled as they went through the streets tearing down the parapets, and the Chinese police were putty in their hands.

By four o'clock yesterday afternoon no foreigner dared set foot on the Bund of the British Concession without danger of losing his life. A thoroughbred Airedale puppy, obviously belonging to a foreigner, as it wore a fine brass-mounted and padlocked collar, was cornered on the foreshore and had to run the gauntlet of kicks and blows the full length of the Concession before it gained the freedom of the roadway. The mob was passionate with anger.

By six o'clock, no longer was it only dangerous to set foot on the river embankment of the British Concession, but the crowd had by that time spread through the entire district, so that a foreigner was in danger of death to appear anywhere in the Concession. Travelling through the Concession at that hour

in a motor-car meant riding through a barrage of pieces of brick, stones, carrying poles, being spat at, cursed and shouted after. The foreigners' day was done on the streets of the British Concession.

A crowd of 500 gathered outside the British police station, howling and threatening. They were in complete control of the situation, to all outward appearances. It was impossible to get in touch with the police station by phone to learn the situation within the building, but an American who passed by there shortly after six o'clock only escaped injury through the activity of the Chinese armed troops outside the building and by "stepping on the gas" when a mob of hundreds more came down upon him, when the shriek of "Beat the foreigner!" went up, together with cry cry of "Kill the Englishman!"

At half-past two yesterday afternoon business houses in the British Concession shut their doors. The crowds gathered about the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank building and shouted at the Marine headquarters, daring the guards to come out. Stone-throwing became popular again, and the Bank shut its heavy bronze doors.

At eight o'clock the American residents of Jardine Estate were brought in to Hankow under escort, as the situation was believed critical. The American Volunteers were ordered to "stand by" in case of necessity. At that hour the mobs of Chinese coolies had entire control of the British Concession, groups of them ugly in temper outside the very door of the British Volunteer Headquarters.

British Defending Forces Evacuate

After eight o'clock in the evening the crowds in the British Concession began to grow still larger, and the General Labour Union sent out pickets in an endeavour to persuade the infuriated coolies to go home and leave the foreigners alone for the night. Chinese armed troops made continued efforts to prevent serious outbreaks.

Meanwhile, the British marines, sailors and volunteer company evacuated the British Headquarters, leaving the entire control of the Concession in the hands of the Chinese authorities. The landing forces all returned to their gunboats.

As the situation threatened to assume more serious aspects, the American Volunteers were mobilized. They remained at their headquarters awaiting developments, but were released at 11 o'clock, and only a small headquarters detail was maintained during the night.

The mobs continued in control of the main streets, and it was unsafe for foreigners to appear anywhere up to a late hour last night. Communication with the British Concession was rendered impossible.

Anti-British Posters Displayed

Anti-British posters were pasted all over the outside of the British Consulate-General and Police Station. The labour unions brought along a huge quantity of anti-British literature and had them distributed among the coolies. The doors, windows and walls outside the Consulate buildings were plastered with handbills. "Beat Up the Police Chief!" "Burn the Police Station!" and "Chase Away the Police Running-dogs!" were the loud cries raised by the several hundred carrying and ricsha coolies gathered outside the British Police Station.

Chinese Troops Take Control

At ten o'clock last evening the British Volunteers began to evacu-

ate their headquarters, moving all guns, ammunition and equipment to the British gunboats. The cars carrying the men and equipment were guarded by Chinese soldiers in order to prevent their being attacked on the way.

As the Volunteers were moving out, Chinese troops moved in and occupied the headquarters. They will make this building their headquarters for the next few days at least. Last evening 300 armed Chinese troops occupied the British Concession, and armed police in addition, reinforced by 200 pickets.

At the British Police Station two Nationalist officers were installed. These were General Chang, of the Garrison guard of Wuhan, and Mr. Chen, representing the Kuomintang. They will co-operate with the British police.

By ten o'clock last evening order was again restored in the British Concession. Pickets restrained Chinese from collecting in groups and saw that all those entering the Concession kept on their way without gathering into crowds.

The mobs which had gathered at the British Police Station and around the Consulate were dispersed, and by half-past ten the Concession was entirely quiet. All members of the British police force, Chinese, British and Sikh, were withdrawn, leaving the maintenance of order to Nationalist pickets and troops.

MR. CHEN REGRETS ASSAULT ON GERMAN

Hankow, Jan. 5.

The German Consul General today called on Mr. Eugene Chen, Minister for Foreign Affairs, in connexion with the attack on a German named Burmeister yesterday by a Chinese.

Pending an official inquiry, it is understood that Mr. Chen expressed regret concerning the incident.

The Nationalist News Agency says that if the inquiry discloses that the Chinese were wholly to blame it is understood that the Nationalist Government will give complete satisfaction and that adequate measures have been ordered to be taken to prevent the possibility of a recurrence of any such incidents.—Reuter.

Serious Condition of Mr. Burmeister

Peking, Jan. 6.

Foreign telegrams from Hankow state that the German named Burmeister, who was attacked and wounded by Chinese, is lying in a very serious condition. He was stabbed in 35 places.—Reuter's Pacific Service.

SUSPENSION OF BUSINESS WORRIES KUOMINTANG

Hankow, Jan. 12.

The Kuomintang is viewing with anxiety the situation arising from the suspension of business and the closure of the Banks, as the existing position renders difficult the financial settlements which usually precede Chinese New Year. Apparently the Southerners had hoped that the British Concession would prove a fruitful field of exploitation, but so long as business remains at a standstill it is not thought likely that the Concession will be other than a white elephant in the hands of the Cantonese.

Britons here feel that if business is resumed under a Cantonese control of the Concession an era of taxation may set in which may cripple British trade and otherwise cause serious developments.

In Hankow lampoons are being posted alongside Government pro-

paganda by persons opposed to the Kuomintang and rewards are being offered by the authorities for the heads of the offenders.

For two days recently trains have been bringing coolies and farm labourers from up-country to increase the mob for demonstration purposes.—Reuter.

TAMPERING WITH THE PRESS

Shanghai, Jan. 14.

A wireless message sent from Hankow yesterday from a reliable source asserts that Press telegrams are being altered by the local authorities before transmission from Hankow in order to convey a totally wrong impression.—Reuter.

BANKS STILL CLOSED

Hankow, Jan. 15.

Except that British banks and hongs still remain closed and squads of Chinese soldiers are patrolling the British Concession there is little outward indication of the unique situation existing at Hankow, where British commercial activities have now entered upon their ninth day of suspended animation. Taipans and their staffs remain incarcerated in the A.P.C. building under a self-imposed pseudo-martial régime. It is expected that this situation is likely to continue pending the discussions between Mr. O'Malley and Mr. Eugene Chen.

So far the British representative and the Cantonese Foreign Minister have only had one meeting, which took place on Wednesday afternoon and lasted two hours, during which the background of the present situation was discussed and the air somewhat cleared.

EMPLOYEES HOLD UP BANKS

Hankow, Jan. 17.

The Yokohama Specie Bank was forced to close down this morning owing to the action of the Bank Employees' Union in calling out the office staff of the Bank and surrounding the building with pickets.

The Union presented a series of demands, which included an increase in wages, abolition of the guarantee system and no dismissals without the Union's consent, etc.

As a result of a temporary settlement the Bank resumed business this afternoon.

Representatives of the Foreign Banks, all of which had received similar demands, held a conference to discuss the situation. It is understood that it was decided to consult the Chinese Bankers' Association and to take up the matter with Mr. Eugene Chen through the various Consuls.

The Bank Employees' Union is one of the most powerful labour organizations here.—Reuter.

Hankow, Jan. 18.

The Nationalist Government today issued the following:

"There will be no strike of bank employees at Hankow pending investigation by an arbitration commission specially appointed by the Nationalist Government.

Following demands made by the Bank Employees' Union on Monday, the Government took immediate steps to head off a walk-out. Government officials called on the Union to leave their demands in the hands of a mixed commission comprising representatives of the Government and banks. This commission will decide on all points involved and make decisions binding on the banks and on the Union.

Meanwhile pickets have been called off and bank business is proceeding.

CONCILIATION BEGINS

Hankow, Jan. 18.

Mr. O. St. C. O'Malley, Counsellor of the British Legation, to-day called on the Minister for Foreign Affairs.—Reuter.

DISCUSS THE CUSTOMS

Hankow, Jan. 18.

Sir Francis Aglen, Inspector-General of the Chinese Maritime Customs, who arrived here on Monday, to-day called on Mr. Eugene Chen, the Nationalist Minister for Foreign Affairs.

NEW THREAT AGAINST BRITONS

Hankow, Jan. 21.

The Nationalist Government has issued the following:

"The continued non-opening of British banks and business houses

usual so long as in their opinion conditions permit their doing so in security."

The decision was reached at a special meeting of the heads of British firms after consultation with Mr. O'Malley.

COMRADE BORODIN TALKS

A Flamboyant Statement

Hankow, Jan. 20.

"The dykes have been cut and the water has begun to rush through." With this striking metaphor, uttered with a sweeping movement of his expressive hands, Comrade Borodin, the Russian High Adviser to the Nationalist Government, rounded off a review of the industrial outlook in China which he gave yesterday for the benefit of a representative of Reuter's Agency in the course of a special interview.

The interview began with an inquiry as to why the extremist section of the Kuomintang apparently had signalled out Britain for special attack. Did this mean that

posals had not been bracketed together.

Recent events in Hankow were touched upon, but only briefly, Comrade Borodin conveying the impression that they had resulted simply from the force of circumstances. The British Concession, he said, was most unfortunately situated, geographically speaking, in that it was surrounded by Chinese territory. It seemed impossible for the Chinese to move about without bumping up against it. He warmly commended the wisdom of the British Consul-General in coming to an arrangement with the Chinese authorities by which bloodshed had been avoided.

Trifling Handicaps

Many of the handicaps which recently have been the subject of complaint by British traders here were described by Comrade Borodin as trifling and transient. He admitted that there had been some levies upon the local merchants, but emphasized that this was merely a temporary expedient, pending the establishment of the "Nationalist" Government here, and was not a part of the Government's settled financial policy. He stated that the recent expedition, costing between \$50,000,000 and \$60,000,000, was financed entirely from ordinary sources of revenue such as consumption taxes upon salt, cigarettes and other commodities in general use among the people.

"The trouble with your business men," Comrade Borodin went on to declare, "is that they don't read our Kuomintang literature. They take the Treaty Port newspaper with their breakfast and then they go out on to the racecourse. Perhaps later on they read a book about the Manchu dynasty. Thus they live in a permanent atmosphere of misconception and eventually the old Colonial complex reasserts itself."

Mention of the high-handed methods of the labour unions as being another frequent occasion of complaint among foreign traders drew from Comrade Borodin an interesting survey of the industrial problems confronting China at the present day. This unrest, he said, was due to what was after all an entirely natural cause—the desire of the Chinese to better his lot and to get more out of life than he had been getting. One of the tragedies of Chinese industrialism was that in its present mediæval stage it could not afford to pay a living wage. But he thought that foreign firms, who on the whole made handsome profits out here, could and should ensure their Chinese employees a high standard of living.

The Obstacles to Progress

Going on to discuss the obstacles that stand in the way of China's progress, Comrade Borodin recalled the story of the innkeeper somewhere in a neck of the woods who made certain of a regular flow of custom by the simple expedient of bestrewing with broken bottles the motor road that ran past his door. On the highway of China's industrial progress, Comrade Borodin declared, there are many broken bottles. These he feels to include foreign control of the fiscal machinery, rendering impossible the building up of a tariff wall to protect industries that are struggling for a foothold, and foreign control of finances through the accumulation of Chinese money in the foreign banks and Treaty Ports.



THE HANKOW CUSTOMS HOUSE, STORMED BY THE MOB

will result in damage suits by Chinese merchants for non-fulfilment of contracts, is the statement contained in a letter sent by the Chinese Chamber of Commerce to the British Chamber of Commerce to-day.

"A copy of the letter has been sent to the Nationalist Government urging a protest to the British authorities.

"The letter states that the failure of British ships to unload cargo here, allow goods to be removed, accept Chinese goods for export and the failure of banks to open for business is resulting in large losses to Chinese merchants. The letter adds that the present situation demands similar action by Chinese merchants.

"The letter concludes: 'In addition to sending a letter to the above effect to the British Chamber of Commerce, we beg to request Your Excellency to lodge a strong protest with the British authorities, demanding that their nationals should open business at the earliest moment, fulfil contracts and restore the security and stability of our markets.'

"It is stated at the Foreign Office that prompt action will be taken by the Nationalist Government."

British Merchants to Re-Start

Jan. 21.

The British Chamber of Commerce announces officially to-night that "British banks and shipping companies and merchants, members of this Chamber, have decided to re-open for business on Monday, January 24, and continue open as

it was regarded as good tactics to deal with the so-called Imperialistic nations one by one and Britain had been put first on the list, as being the country with the largest interests out here, or did it mean that Britain was felt to be in a different category and, if so, why? This, the interviewer confessed, was one thing which he had not been able to understand.

The Unwanted Memorandum

Comrade Borodin leaned forward with a smiling interruption. "If there is only one thing you do not understand about the present situation," he said, "then you are fortunate indeed." The answer to these questions, he went on to suggest, was possibly to be found in recent history—by which he meant such events as the Shanghai, Shameen and Wansien incidents. For these, he declared, no amends had ever been made.

Asked whether the recent British memorandum might not reasonably be regarded as indicating a sincere desire on the part of the British Government to meet the legitimate aspirations of the "Nationalists," Comrade Borodin pointed out that the result of putting the Washington surtaxes into effect, which was the only concrete proposal contained in the whole document, would be to place large sums in the hands of the Northern militarists. If the object of the memorandum was to demonstrate that there had been a real change of heart on the part of Britain this would have been made much clearer if the general declaration of policy and the surtax pro-

"In the scheme of things that you envisage," queried the interviewer, "will there be a place for capitalism such as we know it in the West?" Comrade Borodin answered that one of China's greatest problems was that of under-capitalisation. As to the socialization of industry his answer was that you could not socialize poverty. The old methods of the West had, after all, proved fairly successful. One could not look too far ahead and wonder about the dessert before the soup had been tasted. Conditions must be dealt with as they arose and the fact was that at the present time the Chinese wanted material prosperity. They yearned for forests of tall chimneys, for motor cars, for aeroplanes. The farmer scratching at the soil with medieval implements wanted a plough and later he would want a steam tractor. Bertrand Russellism was all very well, but the Chinese did not want to remain a picturesque backward people for the benefit of tourists.

The Comrade's Inference

On this point the interviewer joined issue and said he felt bound to question whether the average Chinese farmer in the interior had ever heard of a modern plough or whether he could even grasp the idea of a steam tractor. How did Comrade Borodin know that the Chinese really wanted these things? Was the desire not perhaps being artificially created?

Comrade Borodin replied that one could only gauge this by inference. All he could say was that during the recent journey of the Kuomintang officials through the province of Kiangsi the villagers everywhere came to them and wanted to know how they could organize to improve their lot. After all, there was nobody who worked harder than the Chinese nor got less return for his labour in the way of creature comforts.

Pleased With Military Prospects

The military situation was mentioned towards the end of the interview and Comrade Borodin expressed himself as being entirely confident of the Southerners' ability to resist the projected Northern offensive. He admitted that from a purely military or mechanical point of view the Northerners might appear to have the advantage, but this was nothing.

"I tell you that they are as good as defeated," he concluded dramatically. "History has condemned them and all that remains now is to bury the corpse."—Reuter.

RED LABOUR TURNS ON MASTERS

Hankow, Jan. 23.

A hundred workers of the Peking-Hankow railway paraded through the Concessions to-day carrying banners bearing words of complaint and shouting: "We want two months' wages and double pay on Chinese New Year."

They marched into the Railway Administration Building and presented this demand to the managing director, threatening that unless they received the money immediately they would declare a general railway strike.

The director urged them not to strike saying that this action would interfere with the Nationalist military campaign in the north. He suggested that they should apply to the Ministry of Finance, whereupon the paraders withdrew, leaving the matter unsettled.

FINANCE MINISTER'S NARROW ESCAPE

Jan. 23.

The Nationalist Finance Minister, Mr. T. V. Soong, narrowly escaped assault to-day when a delegation of employees of the Peking-Hankow Railway called on him threatening to strike unless they immediately received two months' wages which are due to them. They also demanded double wages at Chinese New Year.

Mr. Soong addressed them and urged them to return to their homes, but they became infuriated and attempted to seize him. They only refrained when the Minister's secre-



THE BRITISH WAR MEMORIAL AT HANKOW, DESECRATED BY THE RED MOB

tary cried "You cannot commit such an indignity on a Minister." Thereupon the workers seized the secretary and two members of the Minister's body-guard and carried them off to the Union headquarters.—Reuter.

RESUMPTION AT HANKOW

Hankow, Jan. 24.

The decision of British hongts to re-open their doors for business this morning was carried out without any special incident. Strong guards of Chinese soldiers and Police were inside and outside the Banks, which were kept busy cashing cheques over the counter but otherwise did not find themselves rushed.

There was a good deal of movement of cargo from godowns, but it is expected that business generally will remain on a very restricted scale.

In view of the proximity of Chinese New Year, this naturally slack period is being devoted to squaring up accounts for the year, and the increasing uncertainty of the labour outlook is calculated to retard the resumption of full commercial activity for some time to come.

The emergency organization is being kept up in a modified form, British subjects, for the sake of convenience, distributing themselves among the various Hong messes instead of remaining concentrated in the Asiatic Petroleum Company's building.—Reuter.

NATIONAL FINANCES WEAK

Jan. 26.

With the approach of the Chinese New Year, the finances of the Nationalist Government are becoming more and more strained, and the Government is now planning to issue a new public loan to the amount of \$25,000,000 in order to tide over the difficulties.

Mr. Sung Tsze-wen, the Finance Minister of the Nationalist Govern-

ment, recently expressed his intention to resign from the post, and it is considered that this is due to unfavourable relations between Mr. Sung and the local General Labour Union.

Sixty representatives of the workmen of the Peking-Hankow Railway recently visited Mr. Sung Tsze-wen and pressed him for immediate payment of four months' wages in arrears. Three of the representatives were detained as a result of a violent altercation.

Regretting that the Nationalist Government does not make public the development of the negotiations between it and the British, a citizens' mass meeting was held to-day at Wuchang under the auspices of the General Labour Union.—Toho.

BRITAIN ALWAYS WRONG

Hankow, Jan. 17.

In an interview with a representative of the Toho News Agency, Mr. Eugene Chen, the Foreign Minister of the Nationalist Government, stated in the main as follows:—

"The British Government is now concentrating a large number of men-of-war in Chinese waters and is going to form a strong defence corps at Shanghai with marines and troops. I believe, judging from this action, that Britain intends to create such an atmosphere as would lead to her declaration of war against the Revolutionary Armies. Britain, therefore, must assume the responsibility for any unhappy incident in future."

"NATIONALIST" PLAINTS ECHOED BY NORTH

Jan. 31.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs to-day addressed the following Note to the British Legation:—

"According to recent reports from various quarters, the Government of Great Britain has taken steps for the despatch to China of a large number of regular troops, warships, submarines and aeroplanes. Surprised by this news, I entrusted the Chinese Chargé d'Affaires in London



SUN FO, THE MAYOR OF THE WUHAN CITIES, A NOTED CANTON REVOLUTIONIST

to inquire at the Foreign Office and was informed that the British Government is sending troops to China to protect British nationals and to safeguard their interests. This was confirmed by Your Excellency's verbal statement that, owing to the extreme importance of the Shanghai Settlement, Your Excellency's Government had decided to send troops for protection.

An Extraordinary Action

"In view of the friendly relations between China and Great Britain, the Chinese Government is at all times prepared to protect British residents in China to the best of its

ability. The peremptory despatch of naval and military forces to China without the concurrence of the Chinese Government, therefore, cannot but be deemed a most extraordinary action.

"I have the honour to invite Your Excellency's attention to the resolution adopted by the Washington Conference by the plenipotentiary delegates of the Powers, other than Chinese, to respect China's sovereignty and to withdraw all troops stationed in China not in conformity with the provisions of existing treaties or agreements. Moreover, according to Article 10 of the Covenant, China and Great Britain, being members of the League of Nations, mutually undertake to respect and preserve, as against foreign aggression, the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League.

"The despatch of additional naval and military forces to China is contrary to the spirit, resolution and stipulations of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Possibility of Misunderstanding

"It cannot be over-emphasized that the national spirit of the Chinese people for preserving China's sovereign rights has been developed and this military movement on the part of the British Government is liable to lead to a serious misunderstanding.

"If such movement is merely intended for the protection of the Shanghai Settlement there is no real cause for alarm. The Chinese military and police forces stationed in the vicinity of Shanghai are amply capable of maintaining order within and without the Settlement. The presence of a large number of foreign troops in this area might easily lead to unforeseen complications, for which the Chinese Government could not be held responsible.

A Formal Protest

"For the foregoing reasons I have the honour to present this formal protest to Your Excellency with the request that its contents be transmitted to Your Excellency's Government. I venture to hope that Your Excellency's Government will share the views expressed in this Note and give the necessary instructions for the immediate withdrawal of the troops despatched to China so that nothing untoward may happen to mar the friendly relations now happily subsisting between the two nations.

"I avail...." etc.

(Sd.) "V. K. WELLINGTON KOO."
—Reuter.

BRITAIN'S OFFER OF SURRENDER

The Graceful Gesture that Led to the Great Betrayal

The memorandum which follows is the text of the memorandum of the British Government's China policy, which was handed by Mr. O'Malley to Mr. Eugene Chen on January 27 and by Sir Miles Lampson to Mr. Wellington Koo on January 28. It was published in Peking on February 3:—

"1.—His Majesty's Government is prepared to recognize modern Chinese law courts as competent to hear cases brought by British plaintiffs or complainants and to waive the right of attendance of a British representative at the hearing of such cases.

"2.—His Majesty's Government is prepared to recognize the validity of a reasonable Chinese nationality law.

"3.—His Majesty's Government is prepared to apply, as far as is practicable in British courts in China, the modern Chinese civil and commercial codes (apart from the procedure codes and those affecting personal status), and duly enacted subordinate legislation as and when such laws and regulations are promulgated and enforced in Chinese cities throughout China.

"4.—His Majesty's Government is prepared to make British subjects in China liable to payment of regular legal Chinese taxation which does not involve discrimination against British subjects and British goods and which is paid by Chinese citizens throughout China.

"5.—His Majesty's Government is prepared, as soon as a revised Chinese penal code is promulgated and applied in Chinese courts, to consider its application in British courts in China.

"6.—His Majesty's Government is prepared to discuss and enter into arrangements, according to particular circumstances at each port concerned, for the modification of municipal administrations of the British concessions so as to bring them into line with the Administration of the special Chinese administrations set up in former concessions or for their amalgamation with these former concessions and now under Chinese control, or for the transfer of police control of the concession areas to the Chinese authorities.

"7.—His Majesty's Government is prepared to accept the principle that British missionaries should no longer claim the right to purchase land in the interior, that Chinese converts should look to the Chinese law and not to the Treaties for protection, and that missionaries in educational and medical institutions will conform to Chinese laws and regulations applying in similar Chinese institutions."—Reuter.

'NATIONALISTS' QUIBBLE ON TROOP MOVEMENTS

Eugene Chen's Eleventh Hour Excuse for Rejecting Agreement

Hankow, Feb. 1.

Reuter is authoritatively informed that the negotiations for a settlement of the question concerning the concessions at Hankow and Kiukiang between Mr. O'Malley and Mr. Chen were concluded on January 29, and on January 30 final corrections were made to the draft agreement which was to have been signed that afternoon.

On the same day, however, Mr. Chen announced that unforeseen events had occurred which would prevent signature of the agreement and to-day he explained in a formal statement that the Nationalist Government could not sign any agreement when British armed forces were concentrating on Shanghai.

These events have been fully reported by Mr. O'Malley, who now is awaiting instructions as to how he should act.

Later.

Mr. Eugene Chen, the Nationalist Foreign Minister, has broken off negotiations with Mr. O'Malley, refusing to sign an agreement when British armed forces are being concentrated on Shanghai.

The breakdown of the negotiations has not caused very great surprise here for, though it was generally believed that a draft agreement had been drawn up for signature during the week-end, it had been realized

all along that the Foreign Minister was having a very difficult time endeavouring to win over the irreconcilable members of the Kuomintang to a reasonable settlement.

The dropping of this bomb-shell has naturally clouded the New Year prospects.

It is significant that anti-British posters already are re-appearing in the British Concession, even on the walls of the former Volunteer Headquarters, now being used as headquarters by the Chinese troops entrusted with the task of ensuring peace in the Concession.

Full Text of Red Note

The following is the text of the statement handed to Mr. O'Malley by Mr. Eugene Chen, the "Nationalist" Foreign Minister:—

Since the negotiations regarding the future status of the British Concession at Hankow began on January 12 a singular concentration of armed British forces has been in progress in the direction of Shanghai. The alleged object of this operation is said to be the protection of British lives and property in the event of the same being endangered by forcible Chinese occupation of the International Settlement at Shanghai. It is significant that though the Japanese and Americans have also large vital interests at the same place they have not found it necessary to resort to the massing of their armed forces there.

No Intentions on Shanghai

"In a manifesto dated January 22 the Nationalist Government declared that it was their wish and intention to have all questions relating to treaty and other cognate matters settled by negotiation and agreement. This impliedly covered, and it was so intended to cover, the question of the future status of the International Settlement at Shanghai, which it is not, and has never been, within the contemplation of the Nationalist Government to occupy.

"It was believed that this declaration of policy might lead to the cessation or at least to the slowing down in the massing of British forces for service in China. And, accordingly, the Nationalist Government decided to take no notice of what might appear to be not only a menacing, but a provocative operation, by the British; and negotiations for the settlement of the specific question of (sic) the Hankow British Concession were proceeded with.

Offer Dubbed Unsatisfactory

"But on January 29 the Minister for Foreign Affairs had occasion formally to raise the question of this concentration of armed British forces. In reply to the proposals outlined by Mr. O'Malley on January 27 for the revision of certain British treaty rights, the Minister for Foreign Affairs stated that the proposals envisaged only fragmentary revision of some of the treaty servitudes affecting China and that, whilst the Nationalist Government could not regard such revision as satisfactory or adequate, they were, nevertheless, prepared to consider and discuss the terms outlined as a basis for a comprehensive and reasoned settlement of the existing differences between Nationalist China and the British, provided, *inter alia*, that discussion and negotiation took place in an atmosphere free from the intimidation necessarily involved in the present concentration by the British of a fighting force that was not only unnecessary, but violently provocative to Chinese Nationalism. The Minister for Foreign Affairs added that though this reply would, in its terms, cover the current negotiations regarding the British Concession at Hankow, the Nationalist Government had received a profoundly sympathetic message from the representatives of the British Labour movement, on both industrial and political sides, which made it possible for negotiations to go on.

"These negotiations are practically concluded subject to adjustment on a few points; an agreement can be signed.

Agreement Rejected

"But the continued concentration of armed British forces at Shanghai, now openly referred to as the 'Chinese Expeditionary Force,' as well as certain military information relating to the British plan of war operations in China, which has now come to the knowledge of the Nationalist Government, make it impossible for the Nationalist Government to view the British concentration at Shanghai except as an act of coercion directed against Chinese Nationalism. To sign any agreement in these circumstances would be tantamount to signing under duress or force. The Nationalist Government must, perforce, await the ending of this period of duress before authorizing the signing of an agreement which shall settle the status of the portion of Chinese territory known as the British Concession at Hankow. This period could be ended immediately or at any time by the British Government re-envisaging the effect on the Nationalist mind of the present concentration of their military and naval forces at Shanghai. Unless the British objective is other than the conclusion of a peaceful arrangement which will satisfy British sentiment without involving loss of Nationalist self-respect, it ought not to be difficult to re-create a situation enabling the British Government and the Nationalist Government to settle the concession question at Hankow in circumstances that might well inaugurate a new era in the relations between Nationalist China and England as a trading Power."

Concessions Offered

Feb. 3.

The British proposals to the Nationalist Government were given out here to-day. They were handed to Mr. Eugene Chen by Mr. O'Malley on January 27, accompanied by the following *aide memoire*:—

"When a satisfactory settlement has been reached in respect of the British Concessions at Hankow and Kiukiang and when assurances are given by the Nationalist Government that they will not countenance any alteration, except by negotiation, of the status of British concessions and international settlements, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to concede at once, on the lines indicated in the enclosure hereto, a large part of what is desired of them by the Chinese Nationalist Party. So liberal and generous a step cannot in their view be regarded otherwise than as an earnest of the fair and conciliatory spirit with which they are animated."

EUGENE CHEN'S NEW DEMAND

Mr. Chen's reply, communicated to Mr. O'Malley in the form of a memorandum on January 29, was as follows:—

"The British *aide memoire* with the enclosure of January 27 envisages only a fragmentary revision of some of the Treaty servitudes affecting China. Whilst the Nationalist Government cannot regard such revision as satisfactory or adequate they are, nevertheless, prepared to consider and discuss the terms outlined as the basis of a comprehensive and reasoned settlement of the existing differences between Nationalist China and the British, provided:—

(A) "The terms relating to concessions and international settlements and other matters of a national character or implication are not to be discussed with local or other Chinese authorities who cannot represent or bind Nationalist China and its organ of leadership, the Chinese Nationalist Party;

(B) "The discussion and negotiation must take place in an atmosphere free from the intimidation necessarily involved in the present concentration by the British of a fighting force that is not only unnecessary but violently provocative to Chinese Nationalism."

"His Majesty's Government invite the Nationalist Government 'as an earnest of the fair and conciliatory spirit with which they are animated'—It is not easy to reconcile this claim with the feverish concentration of armed British forces now in progress and the consequent war atmosphere and war neurosis created."—Reuter.

O'MALLEY COMES BACK FOR MORE

Hankow, Feb. 8.

Following a two-hour meeting yesterday afternoon, Mr. Eugene Chen and Mr. O'Malley again met this morning. It is learned that they are examining the position created by Mr. Chen's statement, refusing to sign an agreement while British troops were being concentrated on Shanghai, with a view to ascertaining whether the difficulty can be surmounted.—Reuter.

TOWN QUIET BUT FRETFUL

Hankow, Feb. 9.

Hankow has so far passed safely through the New Year holiday period without the slightest sign of any disturbance, notwithstanding a huge gathering of thousands of workers of all classes at Liukiamiao, six miles distant, yesterday to commemorate the anniversary of the deaths of striking employees of the Peking-Hankow railway at Kinhan on February 7, 1923. The strikers were shot there by General Hsiao Yao-nan's troops.

Kuomintang propagandists addressed the immense crowd, denouncing the Mukden and Chihli militarists and the British imperialists.

Native traders appear to have come through the New Year settlement better than was anticipated, but owing to difficulties with the unions only about one-fourth of the native banks have so far reopened for business. The outlook generally is very dull.

The Concessions remain perfectly quiet, but among the British community at least there is an undisguised feeling of anxious expectation, making it extremely difficult to settle down to normal routine in the atmosphere of uncertainty which prevails.—Reuter.

TREATIES DISCARDED BY RED GESTURE

Hankow, Feb. 9.

The Commissioner for Foreign Affairs notified the Consulates to-day that the Political Bureau had ordered that no more hearings of cases pending or filed by the Consulates on behalf of foreign plaintiffs are to be heard before the Mixed Court.

All foreign claims in future must be filed and heard before a Chinese city magistrate without a Consular official being permitted to attend in the capacity of assessor.

No ruling has yet been made regarding permission for foreign attorneys to appear to plead in such cases.

Act of City Magistrate

Feb. 10.

With regard to the notification to the Consulates regarding the order of the Political Bureau that no more hearing of cases pending and filed by Consulates on behalf of foreign plaintiffs were to come before the Mixed Court with Consular officials as assessors, it is understood that it was forwarded to the Consulates by the City Magistrate and not by the Foreign Office.

It is also understood that the Consuls do not contemplate taking action in the matter for the present.—Reuter.

HANKOW LABOUR LEADERS RAMPANT

Hankow, Feb. 10.

Reports from up-country state that the rush to organize is extending to even such "white collar" occupations as the teaching and medical professions.

In Hankow now there are few workers who are not enrolled in some union or other, nearly all of which have presented demands varying in degrees of reasonableness, and foreign employers, where they have felt that the claims were actuated by a genuine desire to improve the lot of the employees, appear on the whole to have tried to meet them.

However, there are numerous evidences of an increasing tendency on the part of Union leaders to over-ride all authority and take the law into their own hands. This is causing the greatest apprehension in view of the extent to which capital is being penalized and industrial enterprise rendered impotent.

Symptomatic of the prevailing economic unrest is the decision of the recently formed Tenants' Union to hold a lantern procession tomorrow night protesting against "outrageous rents and special taxes." The Union is asking the public to refuse to pay February rent until landlords agree to reduce rents and abolish key-money.

REDS WOULD MEDDLE WITH POSTS

Hankow, Feb. 11.

The Nationalist Ministry of Communications has sent an order to M. Destelan, co-Director-General of Posts at Peking, through the Postal Commissioner at Hankow, to the effect that in all territories under "Nationalist" Government control all postal commissioners in all districts shall be appointed by the Nationalist Ministry of Communications and that no Commissioners appointed from Peking will be allowed to assume or continue in office.—Reuter.

***This will, of course, cover Changsha, Hankow, Kiukiang, Foochow, Swatow and Canton with all sub-stations.—Ed.

M. Picard-Destelan's Refusal to Agree with Proposal

Peking, Feb. 14.

With reference to the recent notification of the "Nationalist" Communications Department to M. H. Picard-Destelan, the Co-Director-General of Posts at Peking, informing him that in all territories under the control of the "Nationalist" Government all Postal Commissioners appointed from Peking would be replaced by the "Nationalist" Government's nominees, M. Destelan today sent a reply to the "Nationalist" Government as follows:—

"The Postal Commissioners are not nominated by the Peking Government, but by myself with full powers, so the Peking Government has nothing to do with the matter. Therefore, I cannot agree to your proposal."

It is arranged that a mass meeting of the postal employees' union at Hankow will be held in that city on March 1, when the question relating to the restoration of the postal administrative right is expected to be deliberated upon. Anticipating the development of the affair, the General Post Office here has decided to send Mr. H. V. Poullain, the Secretary of the Union Department, in order to attend the meeting. Mr. Poullain is expected to leave here for Hankow shortly.—Toho.

LABOUR EXTREMISTS PREDOMINANT

Hankow, Feb. 13.

The labourers here are of late quite dominant and are presenting more excessive demands to their employers. They have begun to assume a defiant attitude even towards the leaders of the General Labour Union. The Nationalist Government, in view of this, issued an ordinance controlling labourers on the 8th instant, but it has been of no avail. The labour leaders seem to be at a loss not knowing how to control them, while various factories here are about to suspend their work.—Toho.

CHEN QUIBBLES AGAIN

Hankow, Feb. 15.

Mr. O'Malley stated this morning that Mr. Chen yesterday had made a series of statements, partly referring to Sir Austen Chamberlain's speech, partly about the agreement and partly about assurances. The effect of these statements was to create a new situation: the agreement was not signed because he (Mr. O'Malley) had thought it necessary to put the fresh situation before Sir Austen Chamberlain in order to enable the latter to decide what should be done about the agreement. Meanwhile, Mr. O'Malley said, he would stay at Hankow and await further instructions.

Despite official statements made, and perhaps because of them, it is not easy to find a reasonable explanation of the latest impasse in the negotiations between Mr. Chen and Mr. O'Malley.

Local British Opinion Hardening

Local British opinion is crystallizing in the sense that it is felt that unless a definite stand is made the negotiations will tail out into an

ever-widening vista of "fresh situations" with no finality anywhere.

Therefore it is suggested that the British Government should set forth clearly and unmistakably the terms upon which it is prepared to adopt the draft agreement and set a time limit for signature.—Reuter.

REDS WOULD EJECT SALT GABELLE AUDITOR

Hankow, Feb. 16.

An awkward situation has cropped up in connexion with the decision of the "Nationalist" Ministry for Foreign Affairs, which hitherto has been temporarily established in the office of the Commissioner for Foreign Affairs, to remove to the Hupeh auditorate salt revenue building. The auditorate on February 12 received from the Ministry a memorandum suggesting an exchange of premises, in the following terms: "As your office has comparatively less business to carry on our premises can be suitable to you. Your building will be temporarily used by this office so as to be convenient for us both. We beg to advise you of the foregoing for your due note and immediate removal."

The foreign auditor in charge of the local salt office replied, pointing out that in view of the salt chief inspectors' premises here having been acquired in 1923, they are the property of the bondholders, for whom the chief inspectors are the trustees, and evacuation or surrender cannot be consented to unless the full value of the building is paid to them for transfer to a group of banks. The auditor subsequently strongly protested against any action in contravention thereof.

The auditorate building, which is situated in the ex-German Concession, includes the residential quarters of the foreign auditor, which will be affected by this action.—Reuter.

SURRENDER OF BRITISH CONCESSIONS AT HANKOW AND KIUKIANG

Full Text of Agreement

The following is the full text of the Agreement for the surrender of the British Concession at Hankow, signed on Feb. 19 between Mr. O'Malley and Mr. Eugene Chen:—

AGREEMENT RELATIVE TO THE BRITISH CONCESSION AT HANKOW

The proper British authorities will summon the Annual General Meeting of Rate-payers in accordance with the Land Regulations on March 15. The British Municipality will thereupon be dissolved and the administration of the Concession-area will be formally handed over to a new Chinese Municipality. Pending the handing over to the new Chinese Municipality on March 15, the policing of the Concession and the management of the public works and sanitation will be conducted by the Chinese authorities now in charge thereof.

The Nationalist Government will upon the dissolution of the British Council forthwith set up a special Chinese Municipality, modelled on that of the Special Administrative District, for the administration of the Concession-area under Regulations which will be communicated to H.B.M. Minister by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Nationalist Government. These Regulations will remain in force until such time as arrangements have been negotiated for the amalgamation of the five Han-

kow Concessions and former Concessions into one unified municipal district.

Dated this 19th day of February 1927.

For H.B.M. Minister,
(signed) OWEN O'MALLEY.

(signed) CHEN YU-JEN,
Minister for Foreign Affairs,
Nationalist Government.

Agreement Relative to the British Concession at Kiukiang

A settlement on similar lines to that concluded in the case of the Hankow Concession will immediately be made in the case of the Concession at Kiukiang.

If any direct losses due to the action or culpable negligence of the agents of the Nationalist Government were suffered by British subjects during the recent disturbances at Kiukiang, such losses will be compensated by the Nationalist Government.

Dated this 20th day of February, 1927.

For H. B. M. Minister,
(signed) OWEN O'MALLEY.

(signed) CHEN YU-JEN,
Minister for Foreign Affairs,
Nationalist Government.

Hankow:
February 19, 1927.

Sir,—I have the honour to assure you that the British Authorities concerned will do all that lies in their power to implement and ensure the successful operation of the Agreement signed to-day relative to the British Concession-area at Hankow, and that as far as the British Authorities are concerned Chinese citizens will enjoy and be entitled to the same rights as British subjects in the said area.

I have the honour, etc.

For H.B.M. Minister,
(signed) OWEN O'MALLEY.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs,
Wuhan.

February 19, 1927.

Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of to-day's date in which you assure me that the British Authorities concerned will do all that lies in their power to implement and ensure the successful operation of the Agreement signed to-day relative to the British Concession-area at Hankow, and that as far as the British Authorities are concerned Chinese citizens will enjoy and be entitled to the same rights as British subjects in the said area.

I have the honour to assure you in return that the Chinese Authorities for their part will likewise do their utmost to implement and ensure the successful operation of the Agreement in question, and that so far as they are concerned there will be no discrimination against British interests in the administration of the new district.

I avail myself, etc.

(signed) CHEN YU-JEN,
Minister for Foreign Affairs.
Sir MILES LAMPSON, K.C.M.G.,
H.B.M. Minister.

Statement

The Nationalist Government take note of the statement made by Sir Austen Chamberlain, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in the House of Commons on February 10.

The modification in the original plan for the concentration of British forces at Shanghai announced by him is regarded by the Nationalist Government as a concession which now makes it possible to proceed to the conclusion and signing of an agreement relative to the British Concession-area at Hankow.

As, however, the landing at Shanghai of British troops—even in the reduced numbers and for the strictly limited purpose stated by the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs—is without legal justification, the Nationalist Government have to protest against the landing and presence of such British troops in the International Settlement at Shanghai. February 19, 1927.

Declaration

The Nationalist Government have to declare that the arrangement made respecting the status of the area hitherto known as the British Concession at Hankow has been concluded by them with special reference to the facts of the new *status quo* in the said area and is not intended by them to serve as precedent for the settlement of the future status of any British or other Concessions elsewhere in China.

February 19, 1927.

Declaration

Reports reaching the Nationalist Government from many quarters appear to make a re-statement of Nationalist policy regarding Concessions and International Settlements necessary and timely in order to avoid misapprehension and prevent needless apprehension and fear.

In the manifesto of January 22 the Nationalist Government declared their intention and their immediate readiness to have all questions outstand-

ing between Nationalist China and the Foreign Powers settled by negotiation and agreement. This implicitly applied and it was intended so to apply to changes in the status of all Concessions and all International Settlements in China.

This necessarily means that the policy of the Nationalist Government is not to use force or to countenance the use of force to effect changes in the status of any or all Concessions and International Settlements.

The Nationalist Government have to lay it down that changes in the status of Concessions and International Settlements, wherever situate in China, are of such vital and national importance that no local or other Chinese authorities save and except the Nationalist Government can negotiate with the Foreign Powers concerned in respect thereof.

February 19, 1927.

REGULATIONS OF THE MUNICIPAL BUREAU OF THE SPECIAL ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICT NO. 3 OF HANKOW

Chapter I.—General

Article 1.—The territorial limits of the Special Administrative District No. 3 of Hankow within which these Regulations are binding are the same as those of the area heretofore known as the British Concession, including the foreshore down to the river at low water.

Article 2.—The Special Administrative District No. 3 of Hankow shall be under the control and management of a Municipal Bureau (Chapter 2) in accordance with these regulations.

Article 3.—Certificates of title to land within the District or certificates of permanent lease shall be issued by the Bureau upon the application of the parties concerned or their duly authorized agents within 60 days after execution.

Charges by way of mortgage shall within one month of execution be registered at the Bureau upon application of the parties concerned or their agents.

Article 4.—Extraterritorialized foreigners before leasing land and or buildings within the District shall obtain from their respective Consul or Consul-General for presentation to the satisfaction of the Bureau a written guaranty wherein the said Consul or Consul-General guarantees to enforce against the person about to lease the land or buildings in question all the Regulations and Bye-laws of the District for the time being in force.

Article 5.—Individual property rights and other rights partaking of the nature thereof being recognized, there shall be no interference with current bund frontage licences, and such licences shall continue to be issued by the Municipal Administration on existing lines with an option of renewal upon expiration to the holders; and future bund frontage facilities shall be offered in the first instance to British and Chinese firms.

Chapter II.—The Municipal Bureau

Article 6.—The Bureau shall have a Director who shall be selected and appointed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs. His appointment shall be confirmed by the Nationalist Government. The Director shall be the Chief Executive Officer of the District and the ex-officio chairman of the Council as provided for in Article 7 hereof.

Article 7.—The Bureau shall have a Council of seven (7) members, including the Director of the Bureau who shall be the ex-officio chairman of the Council. The remaining six (6) members shall consist of three (3) Chinese and three (3) British who shall be elected at the annual general meeting (*vide* Article 30 hereof) from amongst those voters of the District who are qualified for election.

No one shall be qualified to be a member of the Council who is not entitled under Article 38 hereof to at least two votes.

The Chinese and British members of the Council for the year 1927 will be nominated by the Chinese and British authorities respectively and thereafter elected in accordance with these Regulations.

If any vacancies occur during the year 1927 owing to any members' inability to serve, illness or death, the Chinese and British authorities respectively shall have the power to fill such vacancies by nomination as in the case of the original members. Thereafter vacancies will be filled in accordance with these regulations.

Article 8.—The Bureau shall have an Executive Secretary, who shall, subject to the direction and supervision of the Director, direct and supervise the work of all officials and employees of the Bureau.

Article 9.—The Bureau shall have an Assistant Executive Secretary, who shall assist the Executive Secretary in conducting all affairs of the Bureau.

Article 10.—The Bureau may appoint and employ such other officials and employees as are required to attend to the various kinds of work of the Bureau. These officers and employees shall be under the control of the Director and subject to the direction and supervision of the Executive Secretary.

Article 11.—The Bureau shall have a Chief of Police, who shall be under the control of the Director, and in consultation with the Executive Secretary have charge of and attend to the police affairs of the District.

Article 12.—The Executive Secretary of the Bureau shall be appointed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs upon the nomination of the Director and with the approval of the Council as recorded by a majority vote.

The Assistant Executive Secretary and the Chief of Police shall be appointed by the written order of the Director of the Bureau. These appointments shall also be subject to the approval of the Council by a majority vote.

All other appointments shall be at the discretion of the Director provided that the total personnel shall be commensurate with the actual requirements of the Bureau, with a view to avoid over or understaffing. The total sum expended by way of remuneration of the staff shall in no case exceed that provided for this purpose in the budget as adopted by the Annual General Meeting.

No officer or employee of the Bureau, irrespective of rank, shall be dismissed or transferred, nor shall his honorarium, salary or wage be reduced without adequate cause.

All staff appointments of the Bureau shall be reported by the Director to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for record.

Article 13.—The Bureau shall collect all taxes, dues, rates, fees and the like in accordance with the By-laws and such other Tariffs as are now in force and/or may be made operative by the Annual General Meeting.

Immovable property in the District will be subjected to no other taxation (apart from Chinese Government land-tax) than that authorized under these Regulations.

Article 14.—At the end of each year a list, showing the assessed value of every lot of land and of every building owned by Rate-payers in the District, shall be drawn up by the Bureau, and the owner of such land and buildings shall be notified of the said assessed value on or before the 14th day of December in every year. Any such owner may, within one month of receiving such notification, protest against such an assessed value before the Director of the Bureau, who

shall take all necessary steps to settle the matter definitely.

Article 15.—The Bureau shall take all necessary steps to recover arrears of taxes and dues of whatever nature levied under these Regulations, and all fines and penalties imposed thereunder, and its action in these matters shall be final.

In suing extraterritorialized foreigners for default in payment, the Bureau shall apply to the Consular or other Courts under whose jurisdiction such defaulters may be.

Article 16.—The Bureau shall control the finance of the District. All receipts shall be deposited in a Bank or Banks to be designated by the Council, and all expenditures shall be limited to the use of the District. Payments shall all be made by cheques made out by the Secretary, which shall be signed by the Director and countersigned by two Councilors, one of whom shall be British.

The Bureau shall take over the financial obligations of the British Municipality duly contracted under ratepayers' authority.

The balance-sheets showing all receipts and expenditures of the preceding fiscal year, having been first duly audited by joint Chinese and British auditors, and the budget for the current year shall be presented at the Annual General Meeting of the Ratepayers for confirmation and approval.

Article 17.—The Council assumes office immediately after the Annual General Meeting and remains in office until the next Annual General Meeting.

Article 18.—During the second half of the month of February in every year two electors registered under Article 42 may nominate one or more persons, but not exceeding three Chinese and three British, for election as members of the Council, from persons entitled to vote at the Annual General Meeting. All such nominations shall be sent in writing to the Bureau with the signature of the proposer and seconder, and also the written assent to serve if elected of each candidate proposed. The names of all persons proposed shall on the first day of March be exhibited at the entrance of the Bureau Building, and kept there exhibited until the nominations shall be read out to the Meeting. If the number of proposed candidates is exactly three Chinese and three British, the election of these six persons shall be confirmed without ballot. If the number of proposed candidates exceeds six, the Meeting shall by ballot elect six of them, of whom three shall be Chinese citizens and three shall be British. In the event of less than three Chinese or less than three British being nominated, or the combined nominations being less than six, the outgoing Council shall remain in office for the following year.

Article 19.—The members of the Council are elected for one year and shall enter office after the Annual General Meeting. In case of vacancies occurring during the Municipal year, owing to any member's refusal or inability to serve, illness or death, the Director shall have the power to fill up such vacancies by appointment from among persons registered at the last Annual General Meeting and present at Hankow. If such vacancies exceed three in number, or such appointee or appointees are not acceptable to the majority of the remaining members of the Council or by any group of persons representing altogether not less than one-third of the voters registered at the last meeting and present in Hankow, a special meeting may be convened under Article 28 of the Regulations to elect a member or members to fill up such vacancy or vacancies.

The names of the members of the Council, when elected, shall be reported by the Director of the Bureau to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for record.

Article 20.—The Director of the Bureau shall, in the capacity of Chairman, preside at all Meetings of the Council. In case of the temporary absence of the Chairman from a meet-

ing, a representative shall be duly appointed by him to preside.

Article 21.—Meetings of the Council are called by notifications of the Secretary under instructions of the Chairman—stating all questions to be discussed. Meetings shall also be called by the request of two members of the Council.

Article 22.—Meetings of the Council are valid if at least five persons, including the Chairman, are present. Resolutions are passed by majority of votes, and in case of an equal division of votes the Chairman shall have a casting vote.

Article 23.—The Council shall have authority to discuss and decide all questions connected with the management and administration of the District.

Resolutions passed by the Council shall be carried out by the Director. Should the Director consider that any such resolution constitutes an infringement of Chinese sovereign rights, a violation of Chinese Customs, which are or are liable to be recognized by a Chinese Court of Justice, or a transgression of the Regulations, he may suspend its execution, but in such a case he shall report immediately to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Nationalist Government, who shall decide whether it shall take effect or be cancelled, and this decision shall be final. The Council's view shall be heard and considered before such decision is given.

Article 24.—The members of the Council shall designate among themselves the responsibility for a definite branch of the municipal affairs of the Bureau, such as Finance, Police, Public Works, Public Health, Public Utilities and Water Supply, so that each of them may be in a better position to supervise work and to devise ways and means for the improvement of the particular branch for which each of them is responsible.

In the performance of the duties incident to their respective branch of work, Members of the Council may suggest Committees or Sub-Committees to be appointed by the Director.

Article 25.—Members of the Council acting in conformity with these rules and regulations bear no personal responsibility for their actions.

Chapter IV.—Annual General and Extraordinary Meetings

Article 26.—An Annual General Meeting shall be called by the Director of the Bureau during March of every year for the purposes herein-after provided. One week's notice is to be sent to all electors, stating the business before the Meeting.

Ratepayers shall have the right to introduce resolutions at the Annual General Meeting, provided such resolutions are deposited in writing with the Secretary of the Bureau, at least three days before the date fixed for such meeting, duly signed by the Proposer and a Secunder, both of whom must be voters as hereinafter provided.

Article 27.—The Meeting shall be competent to discuss and settle the proposed questions if one-third at least of the total number of voters registered on the day of this Meeting shall be present.

Article 28.—Extraordinary Meetings may be called by the Director whenever it may appear to him to be needful, also at the request of two members of the Council or of voters representing at least one-third of the voters registered at the last Annual General Meeting and present in Hankow. Not less than 14 days' notice of the meeting and its purposes shall be given. At such meetings the Director or his representative shall take the chair.

Article 29.—An Extraordinary Meeting shall be valid provided not less than one-half of the whole number of the voters registered at the last Annual General Meeting, and present in Hankow, are represented at the Meeting. If the Annual General or Extraordinary Meeting cannot be held owing to an insufficient number of voters being present, the Director shall call in a week's time a second meeting which shall be considered valid whatever be the number of voters present.

Article 30.—The Annual General Meeting is competent to transact the following business:—Consider and pass the accounts for the preceding year; levy and alter rates, dues and taxes; authorize the pledging of the credit of the Municipality; consider and decide matters concerning the public works and sanitation of the District and such other matters as affect the proper and efficient administration of the area; consider and adopt the budget for the current year, and elect six members of the Council.

Article 31.—All resolutions of the Annual General or Extraordinary Meeting, except resolutions named hereunder (Article 32), shall pass by a simple majority of votes; in case of equality of votes, the Chairman shall have a casting vote.

Article 32.—Resolutions concerning acquisition or expropriation of immovables, budget, loans, mortgages, securities or guarantees to be given by the Municipality, shall require a majority of two-thirds of the voters present at the meeting.

Article 33.—Resolutions passed by the Annual General or Extraordinary Meeting shall be carried out by the Bureau. Any resolution that shall involve Treaty Rights shall be communicated to the Commissioner of Foreign Affairs for Hupeh. If such resolution is found to be repugnant to the letter or spirit of the Treaties China has made with Foreign Powers or the laws and customs of China, or derogatory to China's sovereignty or dignity as a sovereign state, the Commissioner of Foreign Affairs may request the Director of the Bureau to suspend the execution of the same and immediately report to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Nationalist Government for final decision.

Chapter V.—The Election

Article 34.—The right of voting at the Annual General Meeting is granted to all Chinese and Foreigners belonging to friendly States having conventions with China, as well as institutions, associations and companies being lotholders or householders in the District and paying to the Bureau sundry taxes (land and house taxes) to the amount of not less than Tls. 25.00 per annum.

Article 35.—Minors and persons under guardianship or curatorship, shall vote through their guardians or curators at the Annual General Meeting.

Article 36.—Societies, Associations and Companies entitled to vote at the Annual General Meeting, participate in it through their representatives, whose power of attorney must be shown to the satisfaction of the Bureau.

Article 37.—Persons having a right to vote at the Annual General Meeting, who are absent from Hankow, or are prevented by illness from attending, are permitted to vote at the meeting by proxy through duly authorized delegates who must satisfy the conditions required for the personal voting at the Annual General Meeting. Such proxies must be deposited with and approved by the Bureau not less than three days before the Meeting.

Article 38.—Persons participating in the Annual General Meeting shall be entitled to votes as hereinafter provided:—

Registered lotholders of the District shall be entitled to one vote in respect of Tls. 25.00 paid in land and house taxes under the assessment for the time being in force, in the calendar year immediately preceding the time of voting; and every person having so paid Tls. 150.00 shall be entitled to two votes, and every person having so paid more than Tls. 150.00 shall be entitled to one additional vote for every full sum of Tls. 75.00 so paid, up to a maximum of 12 votes in all.

Persons who are not lotholders of the District but occupiers of houses in the District, registered as hereinafter provided, shall be entitled to votes in respect of house-tax paid on the same scale as Lotholders as provided for in the paragraph immediately preceding, always provided that every such person must have resided in the District for at least one calendar

year previous to the time of voting. Provided further that in the case of joint occupiers of a house, paying taxes as herein provided, only one such occupier shall be entitled to vote, and, when applying for registration as a voter, as hereinafter provided, he must at the same time provide satisfactory proof in writing of the concurrence of these co-occupiers that he should be so registered as voter on their joint behalf.

Article 39.—No person can have more than 12 votes in all (Articles 35, 36 and 37).

Article 40.—The following persons cannot be registered as voters at the Annual General Meeting:

(a) Persons in the regular Administration Service.

(b) Persons in the Municipal Police Service.

(c) Persons legally recognized as insane, mad or deaf and dumb or disqualified by the law of their own countries from voting.

Article 41.—The following persons are deprived of the right to participate at the Annual General Meeting:—

(a) Persons charged with or on trial for crimes involving deprivation or limitation of civil rights.

(b) Persons who are undergoing punishment for crimes. Such persons are further deprived of the right to participate at the Meeting for three years after the term of punishment has elapsed.

(c) Persons who are in arrears in the payment of taxes to the Bureau.

(d) Undischarged Bankrupts.

Article 42.—On or before the 15th day of December in every year the Bureau shall cause to be inserted in at least three issues of one or more daily newspapers published in Hankow and printed in Chinese and English a notice to persons who wish to register as voters under Article 35, to make application in writing before the 31st day of December to the Secretary of the Bureau for registration upon a form to be provided by the Bureau. The Bureau shall consider the evidence adduced by such persons, and may register or refuse to register, according to whether in its opinion the necessary conditions, in accordance with these regulations, have or have not been complied with. In the later case the Bureau shall inform the applicant of its refusal and of its reasons therefor.

Lotholders of the District, who have satisfied all the conditions of these Regulations, should automatically and without application be included by the Bureau in the list of voters.

A list of persons entitled to vote at the Annual General Meeting with the number of their votes shall be drawn up by the Bureau before the 15th day of January in every year and shall be published at the entrance of the Bureau as well as sent round to the persons whose names are included in the list of voters.

Article 43.—Any objection to such a list of voters by persons having a right to vote at the Annual General Meeting shall be presented in writing before the 1st day of February to the Director of the Bureau, who shall consider the objection, hear all necessary evidence and render his decision not later than the 15th day of February; this decision shall be considered final, and when rendered shall be communicated by the Bureau to the persons concerned.

Article 44.—After the list has been revised, no addition shall be made to it. Persons who lost their right to vote before the day of the Annual General Meeting, shall not participate in the Meeting.

Chapter VI.—By-laws

Article 45.—The Bureau shall have power to make By-laws on matters which come within its scope and for the purpose of assisting the attainment of the objects for which these Regulations are made, and shall have power to enforce such By-laws, when they have been passed in accordance with Article 46, through its own Police Court or Consular Court, according to the nationality and status of the defaulter.

The existing British Municipal By-laws, with the exception of Nos. 25, 48, 49, 52 and 54, will be enforced by the Bureau until such time as they are amended under these Regulations.

Article 46.—By-laws proposed by the Bureau to be issued shall be put before the Annual General Meeting. By-

laws adopted by the Annual General Meeting shall be presented by the Director of the Bureau to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Nationalist Government for confirmation.

Article 47.—To ensure the observance of By-laws connected with building the Bureau may demand for inspection plans from persons desirous of constructing new buildings or altering, reconstructing or fundamentally repairing existing structures; and further may order the removal, alteration or demolition of any building begun or completed in contravention of such Regulations and/or By-laws.

Article 48.—The official language of the Bureau shall be Chinese and English.

Chapter VII.—Amendment and Confirmation

Article 49.—If any amendment to these regulations is found to be necessary, it may be made at the Annual General Meeting by a two-thirds majority subject to the confirmation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Nationalist Government.

Article 50.—These regulations shall become effective on

FULL STORY OF THE EVACUATION OF KIUKIANG

Foreign Houses Looted by Soldiers: Part Played by the Bolsheviks in Destruction of Property: Chang Kai-shek Congratulates Rabble on Victory

A correspondent writing from Kiukiang on January 7 tells the story of the evacuation of the British residents, who left on the Tuckwo and the Mei Chuan.

Most of the Kiukiang residents, he writes, took the opportunity of the Tuckwo's presence to send their valuables on board. Coolies were scarce, though house servants stood by nobly and with the assistance of the Navy and the one and only hard-cash in the Concession (provisionally purchased recently by the Municipal Council for such an occasion) the baggage of some 30 families was finally placed on board the steamer. It was a picturesque sight to see this baggage being handled by foreigners and boys down the long bridge to the hulk, round the hulk and on to the steamer, all in the fitful light of an occasional lamp.

On Thursday morning, the 6th, about 1 p.m., one each of Jardine's and Butterfield's steamers went through filled with refugees from Hankow. One passenger got off by launch as he wished to return to Hankow. The news he brought was not reassuring. After lunch most of the men went home and started packing up their more valuable and portable property, intending to carry it on board the gunboats after dark.

Customs Men Mauled

At about 4 p.m. some Customs baggage was carried by Customs coolies to a boat on the foreshore. The strike pickets on the far side of the foreshore barbed wire objected. Some coolies inside the Concession joined in, and in two minutes there was a riot. Two gentlemen of the Customs who were accompanying the baggage were attacked. One was knocked down by a coolie, who then fell on top of him and proceeded to bite his cheek. The other promptly felled with his baton the coolie who attacked him. The two men eventually got out of the ever-increasing crowd with assistance from sailors and members of the K. D. F., who on this day were operating as Special Constables, all their arms having been handed in to store.

The alarm—two sound rockets—was given. The two sound rockets frightened the crowd on the Bund which had been hanging round all day looking for trouble. They started running and were kept running until they had been pushed out of the Concession across the Creek. Meanwhile the Looshan Gate and the Concession Road Gate, the only two open ones, were closed and British armed parties immediately

landed to reinforce those on shore. At this time the Wyvern was alongside the B. & S. hulk and the Scarab alongside Jardine's.

So shortly after 4 p.m. the situation was that only one crowd—an ever-increasing one—had to be dealt with. The rest of the Concession was clear.

Very quickly some gendarmes of the 2nd Independent Division appeared on the scene, only a few, about 20, and set to work to try and pacify the excited crowd. They were too few and the crowd very soon broke down the barbed wire fence on the foreshore.

Messages were sent to the local officials to ask them to come and deal with the crowd, as it was obvious the few gendarmes could not handle the situation. By great good fortune Mr. T. V. Soong, Finance Minister to the Southern Government, and his suite were in Kiukiang on their way from Nanchang to Hankow. Mr. T. V. Soong and Mr. Tang, of his suite, were of considerable assistance, talking to the crowd and instructing the gendarmes. But still there was no reply from the local officials.

At 6 p.m. Gen. Ho's secretary (2nd Independent Division) came in and said when they heard the two sound rockets they thought the British troops had opened fire and so we could hardly expect the Chinese troops to come to the assistance of the Concession. This excuse was considered rather lame by Kiukiang residents who had been watching agitators making speeches and fanning the anger of the rioters for the past two hours.

As a matter of fact two shots were fired, and only two. They were fired by a Chinese soldier who pushed his rifle through the peephole in the Lushan Gate, as soon as it was shut, in an attempt to shoot the men who were closing it. In this he failed, and apart from the man who had his cheek bitten there were no foreign casualties. There was only one Chinese casualty, the man who had been hit by a truncheon in self-defence.

Towards 6 p.m. a number of insolent union officials came in and wanted to see the wounded man. Eventually it was arranged to send him to the local hospital, where the doctor announced that he was only slightly hurt.

The Mob Dispersed

Gen. Ho, with whom the British Consul has been unable to get into direct communication for the past two months, came in at 6.30 p.m. at

the order of Mr. T. V. Soong. Then also came two companies of Chinese troops, who soon dispersed the mob, assisted by the falling darkness, and by about 6.45 p.m. all was over.

Not, however, before the crowd had succeeded in breaking open the Bund Gate. Half the gate was taken off its hinges and carried off as a trophy, and it has not been found yet.

Last night all was quiet, but further developments are expected to-day. All the gates have been opened, so as to give no excuse for offence, and crowds are circulating about the Concession. A leading British firm was distinguished by having the following notices posted on its gates:—

"Oppose the British soldiers to land."

"Take back extraterritoriality."

"Break off the economical intercourse with Britain."

Needless to say these posters were not allowed to stay up long. Servants are standing by their masters, and office staffs turned up in the morning as usual.

FOREIGN HOUSES LOOTED.

Promises to Maintain Order Unkept

Another correspondent, writing on the same day, said:—

This morning Kiukiang residents were up betimes to see what the coming day would bring forth. The barbed wire on the Bund foreshore was flat and the broken Bund Gate was guarded by two military policemen of the 2nd Independent Division (Hunan.)

Unknown to the residents, but watched by the Navy, a large crowd had assembled outside the Bund Gate at 5.30 p.m., speeches had been made and slogans shouted, when a thick fog descended and dampened the proceedings so that the crowd gradually dispersed. The other Concession Gates were opened at about 9 a.m., when the usual Chinese guard appeared outside.

By this time small crowds of idlers had collected, chiefly on the Bund, and soon all the gate posts of the houses on the Bund were covered with pink posters on which had been hastily written in large characters such remarks as:

"Down with the Imperialists"

"Beat down the foreign sailors"

"Seize the Concessions"

"Break off economical intercourse with Great Britain."

The behaviour of the crowd was not respectful. Foreigners were spat on. Shouts of "kill" were heard and the mood of the coolies were obviously ugly, the crowd being composed chiefly of evident rascals and loafers. Servants continued to function as usual, and office staffs turned up when offices opened.

The Unkept Promise

The officials had promised that no trouble would occur and that they would provide a sufficient guard to ensure this. However, by 10 o'clock it had become evident that they could not keep their promise (at this time there were only some 50 military police to look after a crowd numbering over 1,000 in the Concession), and as the Concession was full of unarmed Chinese soldiers and it was not the intention to fire on such, the naval guards were all withdrawn to two houses, one the British Consulate opposite B. & S.'s Hulk and the other the River Inspector's, opposite Jardine's Hulk.

Orders were issued that all residents were to proceed to one

or other of these two houses, and it is probably thanks to this order, which instructed foreigners not to circulate in the Concession, that there was no untoward incident involving loss of life.

Soon after 10 o'clock reports were received that the Municipal Council Buildings were being looted. This was the first place to be looted, obviously intentionally. Other buildings followed. Amongst those looted are the houses of Messrs. Boizi, Lester, Willis, Munro-Faure, the C. I. M., and the Friends' Mission.



A BRITISH SANDBAG AT KIUKIANG

More Chinese guards came into the Concession, and by noon a force of some 200 must have been present. They were all men of the 2nd Independent Division and they behaved very well. The looting was done entirely by the soldiers of the 6th and 7th armies of the Chinese Revolutionary Government. Very few coolies were to be seen among the looters. The soldiers, no doubt, had reserved the first pickings for themselves and the coolies did not dare to join in.

The guards of the 2nd Independent Division seemed to have very little control over men of other Divisions. When they saw them looting they asked them politely not to loot, but took no other action.

Official Ignorance of Looting

After noon the crowds diminished and it was said the Chinese guards on the Gates, while permitting people to go out of the Concession, allowed no one to come in. A



A LOOTED BUILDING AT KIUKIANG

gentleman arrived from Kuling about this time to say that he had come down that morning with a party of 11 adults, chiefly women, and six children. They had gone out to Duff's Farm, which is situated about a mile away at the back of the Concession. He was advised to try and bring them in after dark, but finding that the Chinese outside the Concession were well disposed the party came in about 5 p.m. and were sent straight on to the Kungwo, which had been detained on her way up to Hankow to take them.

At 2.30 p.m. a large Chinese armed guard arrived at the Consulate and at 3 p.m. the Major in charge of the troops occupying the Concession came to see the Consul. He was told that unless he very quickly stopped the looting and enforced law and order, the foreigners would withdraw to the men-of-war, as the position was intolerable.

The officer stated that so far as he knew there had been no looting, so two members of the K. D. F. took him round and showed him the looting still in progress. He was

furiously and cursed any soldier he found with loot, himself handing the loot back to the foreigners. As he advanced the soldiers of the 6th and 7th Armies began to murmur at having things taken away from them. He lost his temper and ordered his bodyguard to load their pistols.

Rough Treatment for Looters

He seized one looter and threw him on the ground and stamped on him. Another he forced to kneel, and took his own coat off the better to kick him in the back. One man he ordered to be taken off and shot, but it is doubtful if the order was carried out. It was quite obvious he could not control the situation, and so at about 4 p.m. all residents marched on to the gunboats. The sailors fell in at the Consulate, smartly saluted the flag, which was then hauled down, and marched out of the Consul's gate to the hulks, taking the flag with them. At about

8.30 p.m. the men-of-war cast off and anchored in mid-stream.

All the crews of the foreign launches stood by their masters and several of the launches went out and spent the night alongside the men-of-war.

I forgot to mention that during the afternoon Gen. Ho's secretary arrived to report that the General had been unable to come and see the Consul, in spite of the Consul's repeated requests, because he had to make an important speech to his troops.

By nightfall the Concession had been plastered with anti-foreign posters which the officials made no attempt to remove. In the morning foreigners had torn down a few, but they were quickly replaced. The previous day two Russian Bolsheviks had been seen going round the Concession with some smart Cantonese officers and marking down the names of all hongs and other buildings.

The Bolsheviks Lost

It is assumed that they directed the proceedings of the rioting crowd and instructed them, in so far as the crowd was amenable to instruction, which houses to loot.

The Bolsheviks wanted the British sailors to fire on the ignorant coolies. The British did not fire. The Bolsheviks lost the game. The coolies think they have won the victory. The better-class Chinese are civilized and they know that in the past few days their race has behaved as no civilized race ever behaved.

Death of Foreign Lady Who Had to be Moved from Kuling

Kiukiang, Jan. 8.

The Japanese gunboat which left Kiukiang just before the rioting returned to-day. Japanese steamers went alongside the N. K. K. hulks, which are outside the Concession, and worked cargo. It is learned that the Japanese of the Concession have all taken refuge on shore across the creek, to the west of the Concession, in houses near the Railway Station. They moved there during the riot on the day before the Concession was evacuated. The American gunboat is still off Kiukiang and, while the officers have done all they could to oblige, the American Navy has taken no part whatever in recent events.

It is with great regret that the death has to be announced of Mrs. Curtis on board the str. Mei Chuan. Mrs. Curtis was an invalid in Kuling and was brought down hastily to Kiukiang some days ago owing to the threatened troubles. She was placed in the French Mission hospital. When the women and children were evacuated on Wednesday night her condition was so serious that her daughter decided not to move her. The next morning a Cantonese officer visited the hospital and, seeing a stack of baggage near the doorway, inquired whose it was.

He was told it belonged to a foreign lady who was very ill, whereupon he stated that they would soon have all these cursed foreigners out of Kiukiang. The invalid heard this remark and was rather upset. That same afternoon occurred the riot on the foreshore and so it was decided to move her out to the Mei Chuan. She was carried down in a stretcher, and to get to the launch had to be taken out to B. & S.'s hulk. The crowd of rioters saw her and, yelling, made a dash towards her stretcher, swinging their bamboo poles. Fortunately some British sailors were near by and they dashed down on to the foreshore and placed themselves between the stretcher and the would-be murderers. The body has been transferred to the Shengking and will be sent down river.

Consul on H.M.S. Wivern

A north-east wind has been blowing hard all day and it has been difficult to move about in launches. Some more residents have been transferred from the men-of-war to the Shengking for passage to Shanghai. About 17 more refugees arrived from Kuling, and with the

assistance of the motor-boat of U. S. S. Penguin were also placed on the Shengking in the evening, when there was quite a big sea on. The officials have made no attempt to get into touch with the British Consul, whose flag is flying on the Wivern. All are sound and well and Kiukiang awaits developments under the guns of the British navy.

QUALITY OF "NATIONALISM" IN KIUKIANG

Shanghai, Jan. 18.

Graphic accounts of what individual foreign residents of Kiukiang experienced there at the time of evacuation and subsequently are reaching Shanghai in letters from the men who are still "standing by" on H.B.M. gunboats Scarab and Wivern. One such letter, dated January 12, leaves no doubt as to the prevalence of looting which began almost as soon as the first exodus of Kiukiang women and children took place.

Our informant states that attempts were made by the British Consul, Mr. Odgen, to negotiate with the Chinese military for the maintenance of order in the Concession after the foreign women and children of the place had left for Shanghai. Almost immediately, however, the mob and soldiers commenced looting in a thorough and systematic way. Everything which could not be carried off was broken to pieces by the mob, which gave a few foreign witnesses of their actions the impression that madmen had been let loose. Among the debris, made by the rioters, was a newly purchased piano which they found in a foreign house and battered to pieces. Every mattress was ripped open and the stuffing strewn about and carpets were torn to ribbons by the hordes of coolies, who also found much profitable occupation in wholesale looting. Two members of a well-known foreign firm in Kiukiang witnessed this havoc when they were accompanying a consular representative and a Chinese officer through the town. The officer made elaborate protestations, it is said, that what was being seen was not looting.

Resultless Negotiation

Negotiations were carried on between the military and the consulate until it became perfectly apparent that no good was resulting or could result from this method. As no guarantee was held out by the military for the safety of the few remaining Britons there, they eventually received orders to board H.M.S. gunboats in the river.

Describing the mob actions before the foregoing incidents, our informant says that severe picketing resulted in several exceedingly unpleasant situations. Among these was the mêlée which resulted when a foreign lady, who had delayed leaving when the Concession was evacuated of British women and children, went to the jetty with a few men accompanying her to go on board the Standard Oil boat lying off the bund. The crowd attempted to prevent her leaving, and finally laid hands on her in what threatened to be an extremely dangerous few minutes. This caused the men who were with the lady to come to the rescue, and a fight commenced during which one of the men slipped and fell into a narrow ditch with a husky coolie on top of him.

"LEGITIMATE ASPIRATIONS" OF THE RIFF-RAFF

Kiukiang, Jan. 10.

All Mission schools have been closed on account of the riots, two

of them, St. John's and the William Nash, now being occupied by soldiers.

Some of the shops and houses of Britons on the Concession have been broken into, things being smashed up and goods stolen.

An ultimatum of seven demands has been drawn up by the General Labour Union and it is to be presented to the British authorities. The demands are:—1. Apology to the Chinese by the British Consul; 2. Indemnity of £5,000,000 if the wounded coolie dies; 3. If he does not die payment of £5,000,000 as an indemnity fund; 4. Return of the concession; 5. Marines be not allowed to land again; 6. Return of the

watched. Where the soldiers are billeted is not known.

Medical Officer and Youth

In Kiukiang the Customs Office is not officially closed, but the Commissioner will not allow his staff to land until he is satisfied that they will receive proper protection. Yesterday the Port Medical Officer (an American) was on shore and went to the Rest House to telephone Kuling. On coming out he met a postman and walked down the street talking to him. They were met by a youth, aged circa 16, dressed as a soldier, who ordered the M. O. to halt and, cursing him fluently, presented his



HOW THE SOUTHERNERS LOOTED AT KIUKIANG

Customs; 7. Return of the Post Office.—Reuter.

Note:—The second and third demands refer to a coolie who is alleged to have been seriously wounded in the course of the riots.—Reuter.

Off Kiukiang, Jan. 11.

Apart from the two men sent ashore to investigate on January 9 no British subject has been allowed ashore since the evacuation on the 7th. The Consul has opened his office in the motor house boat Tai Koo Tung and the A. P. C. office

bayonet at him. He searched through the postman's bag, and when the M. O. explained that the mails were all Chinese, the youth reversed his rifle and made as if to strike the M. O. with the butt. A small crowd had collected and took the M. O.'s part. They restrained the soldier while the M. O. walked off.

The soldier, however, broke away and this time presented the point of his bayonet at the M. O.'s stomach, but the crowd again came up and restrained him while the M. O. walked on. After the same thing had happened a third time, the M. O.



ANOTHER SPECIMEN OF "NATIONALIST" WORK AT KIUKIANG

is in the motor-launch Kiangsi, both alongside H.M.S. Wivern. The Commissioner of Customs has an office in the Customs steam launch Chang Hsing alongside H. M. S. Scarab. The Standard Oil office is in the steamer Mei Chuan. No business is being done, but touch with the shore is maintained with the assistance of Chinese clerks and boys.

There are still about 100 foreigners in Kuling, of whom 15 are British. A thousand Chinese soldiers were sent up there yesterday and it appears that the Kuling foreigners are practically interned, their movements being restricted and closely

went and reported the matter to the commander of the guard. He had just 15 minutes before left the commander, who had given him the assurance that it was absolutely safe for foreigners to be in the Concession.

The commander blustered a bit and then ordered the soldier to be pushed out of the Concession gates. There was no attempt at punishment for this insult and wanton assault on a member of a peaceful nation, nor has there been any attempt so far to punish any of those who did the looting during the past few days. Indeed, how can the officials punish

the ignorant coolie soldiers for doing what they have incited them to for months past?

It is said that General Ho, with the 2nd Independent Division, will be leaving shortly for Chekiang. His place will be taken by the 6th Army, the army which was so keen on loot last Friday.

NATIONALISM TRIUMPHANT

Soldiers Loot Concession from Headquarters; Chiang Kai-shek Congratulates Rabble on Victory

Kiukiang, Jan. 13.

The 6th Army, which has taken over the protection of the Concession, is not Hunanese, as stated before, but is from Kuangsi. It is notorious for the number of bandits enlisted in its ranks.

It is learnt that the 2nd Independent Division, before they moved out of the Concession on the 11th, helped themselves freely to what was left in the already looted houses. The idea appears to be that an untouched house must be left alone, but a house that has already been broken into is fair prey and anyone may go in and help himself.

Strict Soldiers

On the face of it they are very strict. For instance, yesterday the Port Medical Officer went to the officials and obtained a permit to move a box of his wife's clothing out on to a river steamer. Armed with the permit, he took the box out of his house. The first sentry he passed stopped him and he had to go all the way back to the official to induce him to come out and convince the sentry that the permit was genuine. After much talk he got the box past the first sentry and then came to the second sentry 100 yards further on. The second sentry had watched the whole of the first sentry's performance, but no, the box could not go by and the official had to be fetched again and the whole wretched argument gone over again. This happened four times. Comment is unnecessary. Looters may move stuff at will, but owners may only move their own property under the most irksome and humiliating restrictions.

Even as the M. O. was arguing yesterday with the sentries about his boxes, he saw two large vases, loot, being carried across the road by soldiers from the C. I. M. house to Mr. Melville's house. Mr. Melville's house is the H.Q. of the officer in charge of the Concession and so the assumption is either that that officer himself is collecting loot or that his hold on his troops is so slender that they dare loot under his very nose. In either case no credit is reflected on the troops of the Chinese Revolutionary Government.

Police Clamour for Pay

Yesterday a party of 28 refugees arrived from Kuling, and was placed on board the str. Changsha for Shanghai. The party had some trouble at the start with the Kuling Estate Police, who clamoured for their January pay in advance. There was not sufficient money in the Estate Office to pay them and some of the men became very threatening. However, they were pacified in the end and the party started off. It is feared that these very same Estate Police may break into the foreign houses after the foreigners have left, as they are not reliable.

The party had a good journey down, at about three times the usual cost, until they reached Kiukiang. At the Concession gates, amidst

some abuse, they were forbidden entry and so had to go all the way round to the other side of the creek. They were then observed and a launch sent off for them. There are still about 60 foreigners in Kuling, of whom two were British. Some more refugees are expected down to-day.

On the afternoon of the 11th Chiang Kai-shek, accompanied by Comrade Borodin and Mrs. Sun Yatsen, arrived by rail from Nanchang. After making a speech at the Railway Station to the assembled coolies, congratulating them on their victory in winning the Concession, he embarked in the str. Changan for Hankow.

Insulting Letter to British Consul

The Commissioner for Foreign Affairs, a letter from whom the British Consul was compelled to refuse the other day on account of its insulting terms, has established his office in the British Municipal Council Building as temporary official in charge of the Concession. He is issuing passes to the foreigners' servants and other Chinese employees, who still remain in the Concession, which gives them permission to go in and out of the gates. No Chinese are allowed in the Concession without these passes.

Looting of Duff's Farm

The details of the looting of Duff's Farm are now to hand. On Sunday, January 9, the attention of the military was drawn to the premises by the arrival of a number of foreigners from Kuling with a certain quantity of baggage. The place was raided that very night and several boxes and fittings stolen. The cashier at the same time was held up and robbed of about \$200.

On the 10th the office staff reported the raid to the military and an armed guard, 50 strong, of the 3rd Tuan, 2nd Ind. Div., the same troops as those guarding the Concession, was supplied.

At 2 o'clock on the morning of the 11th about 400 men of the 4th Tuan, 2nd Ind. Div., attacked the farm and drove out the guard at the point of the bayonet. The soldiers asked the servants, who were badly treated and made to kneel down, if there were any foreigners in the house, stating that they were to be brought out and shot. Fortunately there were no foreigners. They then systematically looted the place and took away almost everything movable except common furniture, some of which was smashed. The soldiers left with their loot before daylight, when officials came and inspected the premises and a new guard was put in to prevent further looting.

Utter Incapacity to Govern

Jan. 14.

Foreign interests in Hankow are much larger than those in Kiukiang and it has been natural to pay more attention to events in Hankow. But it is in Kiukiang, where soldiers of the Chinese revolutionary Government have looted intermittently for days, that that Government has proved its utter incapacity to govern—even its own troops. It is in Kiukiang that the vain bubble of their boasting has been pricked.

Yesterday was procession day on shore. Most of the shops shut their doors while the coolies paraded the streets waving banners and shouting slogans to celebrate their victory in winning back the Concession. Yesterday morning a procession of some 25 soldiers and students went through the Concession with paper banners bearing the characters "Beat down the British." The large procession of the day was not held till 3 p.m. It paraded the Chinese Bund

and through the Chinese streets, but did not enter the Concession. The yelling and shouting of the excited mob could be distinctly heard from the gunboats.

The British Municipal Building has been decorated with streamers and flags of the Southern Government and a large banner was yesterday tied up outside the Consulate, inscribed in English, advising all foreigners to have nothing to do with British Imperialism. Posters are still being stuck up in the Concession.

The Customs repair yard and foreign residence, which lies about half a mile up the creek from Kiukiang, was thoroughly looted on January 8. The Chinese staff, servants of the Chinese Government, were beaten. Timber to the value of some Tls. 7,000 to Tls. 8,000 was stolen and openly sold on the streets by soldiers. In the residence even the window sashes and door frames were ripped out and used as fuel.

Customs Looted and Staff Beaten

The Japanese appear to be functioning in the Concession, of which they have enjoyed the hospitality for the past 60 years, as usual. They are said to have paid \$20,000 for security, but this report is quite possibly without foundation. The Chinese Headquarters, Mr. Melville's house, is next door to the Japanese Consulate and Chiang Kai-shek, when he passed through here two days ago, installed 20 military police of his own bodyguard in these Headquarters, to watch the military police of the 6th Army, which is responsible for the Concession, and make sure that they did not do any looting on their own.

A reliable report has been received that the 2nd Ind. Div. of General Ho is to be disbanded. It is not known why. These troops, however, have demanded \$200,000 in cash before they are disarmed and have threatened to loot the native town of Kiukiang if they do not get the money. As there is no chance whatever of the money being produced locally, we await developments with interest.

Insulting Coolies

Jan. 15.

On the evening of the 13th at about 4 p.m. a party of 48 American refugees left Kuling. They did not have a happy passage down. The cost of chairs was exorbitant. At Lien Hua Tung, at the foot of the mountain, there was more haggling and the coolies were insulting. One lady, who was sitting waiting in a car, had her hair pulled. Some children's hats were snatched off. Most of the party were pushed about and threatened. The Red Cross badges of the nurses accompanying the three patients of the party were torn off. One car load eventually got away, but was stopped half way to Kiukiang. The chauffeur stated that he would neither go forward nor back until they had paid him every cent they had on their persons. There was no way out of it, so they had to pay up and look pleasant. And the irony of it is that the next day the gentleman who thinks he has so efficiently been locking after the affairs of the Concession, the Commissioner of Foreign Affairs, sent in a bill for the motor fares of the armed escort he had sent to protect the party.

The party again met with trouble on the river foreshore, which they reached about midnight. They were held up for money. Various sums were paid out and the American Consul himself had to pay \$20 before he was allowed to step into a

sampan. The party was finally rescued by the motorboat of the Penguin. The Chinese crew of one sampan, which took off some of the refugees, was assaulted when they returned to the shore and fined \$100 by their Labour Union.

Yesterday passes were abolished and anyone could go in and out of the Concession at pleasure. The temporary administration, however, had forgotten to make arrangements for the protection of the looted houses with broken doors and windows, and the consequence was that anyone could still wander into them. So instead of being filled with soldiers, yesterday they were filled with coolies looking over what the soldiers had left. This was not much. To put an end to this condition of abject and humiliating inefficiency, the foreigners have instructed their own Chinese staffs to nail and board up the looted houses.

Eugene Chen's Orders

On the evening of the 13th a message arrived from Mr. Eugene Chen in Hankow, instructing the administration to remove all anti-foreign posters in the Concession. This was an awkward instruction. Who was to do the dirty deed? Two innocent Municipal coolies were finally prevailed upon to go out at dead of night and wash off the posters. They started with those on the Municipal Hall, but had scarcely begun when they were seized by soldiers. One ran away, but the other was tied with his hands behind his back and left like that all night. In the morning the Commissioner of Foreign Affairs, who had given the order to remove the posters, told the soldiers that the order was his and they really must not behave like that. The Propaganda Department, just to assert their independence, the following morning rushed out some more posters and added them to those already up in the Concession.

It is learned that the meetings and processions held on Thursday were very definitely and intentionally anti-British and agitators were everywhere shouting "Kill the British Imperialists," "Take back the Concessions," "Take back the Customs," etc.

The Commissioner of Foreign Affairs is anxious, almost indecently so, for foreigners to go back and live in the Concession, which he assures everybody is a perfectly safe place under his highly efficient administration. The foreigners, however, have their own ideas on the subject and remain coy.

The Chinese ashore, the merchants and the better classes, do not know where they stand. Daily messages come aboard asking when the British bombardment is to commence. They realize that the Chinese Revolutionary Government has made a stupendous mistake.

COOLIEDOM RAMPANT

Kiukiang, Jan. 30.

The report in to-day's wireless press news that business has been resumed as usual in Kiukiang is not true. The British are still forbidden by their Consul to go ashore.

Coolie Unions Want Squeeze

Out of consideration for the merchants, with whom there is no quarrel, and after consultation with the Consul, the shipping hongs decided to open the hulks and permit delivery of the cargo. All arrangements with the coolies, who are still on strike, were to be left in the hands of the Chamber of Commerce and a guarantee was required that no damage would come to the hulks through coolie rioting. However, before delivery could be made the

cargo has to be passed by the Customs and so the Commissioner of Customs wrote to the officials on shore and demanded a guarantee that his men would not be interfered with nor molested while examining the cargo. So far no reply has been received, but meanwhile the Labour Union has intimated that not a single package could be moved until a donation of \$10,000 had been made to Union funds by the Chamber of Commerce. The matter is still under negotiation, but as China New Year is only two days off the merchants will have to act quickly if they really intend to get their cargo.

On January 27 two junks and some lighters were alongside one of the British hulks waiting to receive the cargo, which was not forthcoming, when a party of some 50 soldiers marched down and commenced to embark in them, lock, stock and barrel. The hulk is a registered British ship and the Consul immediately went off to it to warn the soldiers that the hulk could not be used by them for embarkation purposes. They marched off without giving any trouble.

Later in the day another party of soldiers again attempted the same thing, and when the Consul remonstrated with them they showed no intention of moving. An armed party was signalled for and H.M.S. Woodlark ordered to come alongside. The Chinese soldiers were so intent on the argument with the Consul that they did not see the armed party until they were actually alongside, when to their amazement they saw the tiny picket boat of H.M.S. Flying Swan disgorge armed sailor after armed sailor. Just at that moment the Woodlark put her nose round the corner of the junks. The conversation was broken off abruptly. Those junks were empty in about two minutes, and so was the hulk.

Pickets Meet Their Match

On the same day a further party of American refugees arrived from Nanchang, consisting of two men, one woman and three children. They succeeded in moving their baggage to the hulk, but once there were held up for money by the hulk coolies. Their predicament was noticed from the ships and an armed party went off from the Wild Swan to rescue them. They were placed on a launch and sent off to the str. Changsha for Shanghai. On arrival at the steamer it was found that pickets had arrived on board in a sampan and they attempted to prevent the unloading of the refugees' baggage into the steamer. Again a naval party was sent. The pickets were bundled into a sampan, which was then towed out to midstream (the river at Kiukiang is a mile wide), where they were left to their own devices. The pickets were very angry and it is understood that the Kuling Estate coolies, who had carried the baggage on shore, were hauled off to the Union Headquarters and fined for being "running dogs of the foreign imperialists."

RED OFFICIAL SHOCKED

Director of Hankow British Concession Tours Looted Kiukiang

Kiukiang, Feb. 12.

Mr. Tang Hai-an of Hankow was present at the opening of the hulks (to enable Chinese merchants to take delivery of their cargoes) in case he could be of assistance. Mr. Tang is the gentleman who has been of so much assistance in Hankow and there is no doubt if all the Chinese officials were like him Chinese and foreigners would have no difficulty in getting on together at all. Mr. Tang was at Oxford.

Who Foreigners Do Not Return

As the work in the hulks was slow in commencing, Mr. Tang and the Consul strolled up and down the Bund. Mr. Tang could not understand why the British refused to return to the shore. So the Consul took him into the house on the Bund of the Deputy Commissioner of Customs. Mr. Tang was obviously shocked to see the damage done by

flows" was found in three bedrooms. These gentlemen apparently intended to make themselves thoroughly at home. Mr. Tang ordered them out on the spot. Also he did not seem very pleased with the C. of F. A. (now responsible for the Concession) and it seems likely that that official will shortly be without a job.

The Consul told Mr. Tang photographs had been taken of all the

watched the packages going out to see that they paid the full new coolie rates. Before taking delivery of their cargo the Chinese merchants had to pay the new taxes. It is not definitely known yet what these taxes are, but it appears that lubricating oil is to be classed as a luxury! A special office to collect the new taxes has been opened in a British house in the Concession.

follows is extracted from the "Hsun Yang Er Pao" of February 10:—

"British Imperialism again wishing to provoke hostilities.

"What was the intention of leading a party to land?

"After our side's stern blame the party withdrew without face.

WHEN NORTHERNERS LOOTED HANGCHOW

Photographs by Ariel L. Vargas, Far Eastern Correspondent for the International Newsreel Corp., of New York



A CORNER OF THE STATION MASTER'S OFFICE IN THE HANGCHOW RAILWAY STATION AS THE RETREATING SOLDIERS LEFT IT



CROWD IN FRONT OF THE PROVINCIAL EDUCATIONAL BUREAU AT HANGCHOW WAITING TO GREET THE INCOMING TROOPS

the looters and had nothing to say when the Consul said to him, "Now do you see why we do not return to the shore?" The Consul pointed out that this house had scarcely been touched, when compared with the condition of some of the other houses. The carpets had not been slit up, and though the mattresses had been disembowelled there were still one or two cushions without covers on them it is true, but still with feathers inside them. And there were still one or two tea-cups and tumblers which had not been smashed. The Consul offered to take Mr. Tang round all the looted houses, and in a moment of weakness Mr. Tang accepted the offer.

House after house was entered and at every one Mr. Tang was asked, "Now do you see why we do not return to the Concession?" At Mr. Melville's house, which is still used as a barrack by the Military Police, the sentry at first refused to allow them to enter, but after explanation had been made they passed in. In every room were the sprawling forms of soldiers on the floors and in the beds. They occupied the whole house and made themselves at home in a way the Chinese soldiers have. The Consul asked Mr. Tang where Mr. Melville was to live on his return. Mr. Tang's reply was to give the soldiers three days in which to get out of the house.

At the C.I.M. house opposite, a gentleman was found making himself at home in a C. I. M. sitting room, sitting in a C. I. M. chair at a C. I. M. desk. When asked who he was, he explained he was the overflow from the Commissioner of Foreign Affairs' office and that he had only come in for a few moments. Upstairs, however, the baggage of three "over-

looted houses as evidence. Mr. Tang said he himself had seen the houses and so evidence would not be necessary, and moreover that there was an order that no photographs were to be taken in the Concession. On being asked who had issued the order he said the C. of F. A. had, whereupon the Consul had to point out that he did not take his orders from the C. of F. A., and anyway the photos had already been taken.

Squeeze, Squeeze, Squeeze

Down at the hulks there was no incident. There were many strike pickets on duty who presumably

The rule on shore now is "Squeeze, squeeze, squeeze!" Nothing can be moved a foot, but some union or others, or some coolie or other posing as a union, stops it and attempts to levy a toll. What with these squeezes and taxes, it is difficult to see how life will be possible in the future on shore.

In the account sent on February 8 was a description of the landing of a party of British sailors in the Concession to protect the persons taking photographs of the looted houses, whose lives were believed to be in danger. The account which

"After the case in which sailors, after being inspired by the British, bruised our labourers badly with blows, and for which a severe fight on the part of the population followed and negotiations by our Government as well, the British Consul found himself in the case of reason unreasonable and in the debate exhausted. He was powerless to go on managing the Concession and therefore withdrew to the gunboats, and as a result we were able to obtain the return of the Concession and our rights automatically. At present orders in the Concession have been put safe and well and foreigners, one and all, can do their business as usual.

"The British Imperialists finding lately that the population makes no 'advancing attack' on them have an intention to practise their 'being powerful, and at 1 p.m. on the 8th the British Consul all of a sudden led a big patrol of armed sailors whose rifles were filled with shots and fixed with bayonets, who intruded into the Concession, also with machine guns, declaring that they would move about as they liked.

"The whole population of this locality were thus greatly troubled and alarmed. Fortunately severe blames and stern protests were made by the staff of the Commissioner of Foreign Affairs and the party immediately withdrew and no accident happened.

"Now the British Consul at Kiukiang has already been in the Administration of China. Since it belongs to Chinese rights, all armed soldiers of any nationalities are not allowed to land at liberty. As soon as Chow Yun-len, the C.F.A., learned of the accident, he realized that the British Consul intended to provoke hostilities without cause and disturb peace. He specially laid down a protest as to the reason why the British Consul led a party to land. It is understood that the Consul finds himself mistaken and will express apologies."

THE KIUKIANG AGREEMENT

Damage Paid for Looting of Property: Another Surrender by Britain: Municipal Regulations Cancelled

Hankow, Mar. 4.

Mr. Eugene Chen, on behalf of the Nationalist Government, has handed Mr. O'Malley a cheque for \$40,000, covering damage sustained by British subjects at Kiukiang.

Notes were exchanged between Mr. Chen and Mr. O'Malley on March 2, in which it was agreed that the British Government "will cancel the British Municipal Regulations and hand over unconditionally the administration of the (British Concession) area at Kiukiang to the Nationalist Government as from March 15 next." The Nationalist Government agreed to confirm the existing Bund frontage licenses issued to the former British authorities for the current period of ten years.

The distribution of the \$40,000 to the British sufferers is left entirely to the discretion of the British Government.—Reuter.

The Hankow Agreement's Aftermath

Some Telling Facts as to the "Nationalist" Reaction to Britain's Conciliation

Mr. O'Malley's signature, February 19, 1927, of the Agreement at Hankow, now commonly referred to as "The Great Betrayal," has been regarded by the "Nationalists," Communists, labour agitators, students and other anti-foreign element as an official license for unprecedented outrages against foreigners. Before it was signed Mr. Ramsay Macdonald said that the Agreement would be a certain guarantee of amiable trade relations with China. Every business man in this country said it would be a signal for the outbreak of a "holy war" upon the foreigner. There is no space for a complete account of the atrociously bad manners of the "Nationalists" since "The Great Betrayal," but a few news clippings, selected at random, will give a sufficiently clear impression of the "Nationalist" reaction to conciliation.

"KILL THE FOREIGNER!"

Hangchow, Chè., Mar. 7.

During the past week a great mass of troops have passed through, and continue to pour in, en route to the Kiangsu border. At times the rush of men has been so great it would seem that scarcely a house escaped being turned into a temporary billet. Chapels and schools have been requisitioned and, we hear, the soldiers prefer to pounce upon the Christian institutions because they are so much cleaner than the ordinary idol temple and ancestral hall. There are instances of foreigners' houses having been impudently demanded. At Nansingyiao the home of the Rev. A. and Mrs. Gracie, China Inland Mission, has been utilized by the military for over two weeks. Like the rest of the places used by soldiers, it is left in a disgusting condition. In this instance not only are there traces of wanton destruction, on every hand, such as, for instance, the tearing down of the electrical appliances, etc., but a systematic search had been made for valuables and trunks had been wrenched open and relieved of their contents.

It would be futile, however, to make any pretence that the situation is normal. For instance, travelling in these days is exceedingly difficult, for the modes of transportation are, for the most part, in the hands of the military. And a foreigner, especially if it be known he is British, is a gazing stock and a legitimate object of the most contemptuous remarks. To the common soldier, "Imperialism" means the foreigner, and in the ranks "Kill him! Kill him!" is a common phrase now-a-days.

PIRACY RAMPANT

London, Mar. 10.

The Naval Estimates observes that piracy in the China Sea is rampant, but hitherto it has been impossible to obtain the co-operation of the Chinese authorities for its suppression.—Reuter.

WRECKING THE POSTS

Foreign Post Offices in China were withdrawn in 1922 with the understanding that the existing Chinese postal service, in which the employment of a few foreigners of various nationalities insures honesty and efficiency, would not be interfered with. The following is one of several examples of Red interference in Yangtze ports:—

Peking, Mar. 11.

It is reported from Changsha that the French Postal Commissioner there has been dismissed by a mandate of the Nationalist Government and a Kuomintang nominee appointed in his stead. The Chinese executive staff have all resigned.—Reuter.

LABOUR TERRORISM

Shanghai, March 12.

Terror broke out again among the labourers in Shanghai yesterday, when two mill foremen were shot during the morning. Armed men shot, but only wounded, another watchman, who came to the aid of his master. Several strikes, involving 5,000 workers, indicate the temper of the mill hands.

In the Yangtszepoo district, at about 7 o'clock, two assassins, according to the story of eye-witnesses, opened fire on a foreman as he was on his way to work, wounding him so badly that he succumbed two hours later at St. Luke's Hospital. Deceased, it is related by those who saw the incident, was walking along Kwanghsin Road and was met by two men who had the appearance of being mill hands. He had no opportunity of escape and they fired in cold blood, making off into Chinese territory.

Equally mysterious is the affair in the Pootoo district, when an employee of the Dong Shing Mill, 181 Gordon Road, who was walking from his home at 326 Macao Road to the place of employment, was shot dead.

On Thursday 500 workers at the Oriental Cotton Mill, at 36 Yangtszepoo Road, struck work because the management had fined several of their number for infractions of discipline and mill regulations. Yesterday morning the full complement, 3,600 strong, joined in the strike. At a late hour last night no word had been received of a resumption.

The Nagai Wata Kaisha Mills are also affected. At No. 5 East and No. 5 West there was a general walk-out of all hands, in all 1,469, because the management had removed two posters from within the compound, posters which favoured a "Workers' Government." The industrialists insist that the placards should be replaced before they will consider resumption.

One of four armed men shot a watchman at 15 Kiukiang Road early yesterday morning after holding up and relieving his master of \$85 and a gold watch. When he, a silk merchant, returned home, he instructed his private ricksha coolie to call the watchman. In the interim, the four approached him. The watchman came on the scene and one of the men fired through the bars of the gate, wounding the watchman.

WUHU RUNS AMOK

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

Shanghai, Mar. 17.

I am sending you the following account of the incidents which occurred in Wuhu on Tuesday and Wednesday last.

The effect to bluff the British Vice-Consul into surrendering the I-C. S. Kutwo on Sunday having failed, we had settled down more or less under the new régime. On Monday all was quiet, and on Tuesday until 11.30 a.m. there was no sign of a crowd round the Custom House; however, it began to collect shortly afterwards and when the Deputy Commissioner of Customs arrived at the jetty at 12.15 p.m. on his way home from the Native Customs, he was surrounded by a motley collection of coolies, old women and children; however, he was not molested, and when the Commissioner left the Custom House somewhat later he experienced no trouble in passing.

The Raid on the Club

The one foreign assistant who remained in the Customs noticed nothing abnormal until 12.35 p.m., when a Chinese clerk came to him and informed him that the crowd had begun to enter the Customs Club. He went there, but finding that protest was unavailing and that the soldiers in the crowd were not in the least anxious to help him to clear the club, he returned to the office. A few children threw stones, but their elders were not as yet hostile. At 12.45 p.m. the usual agitators arrived, posters were stuck on the club walls and the crowd began to carry away magazines, etc. In ten minutes looting was in full swing, watched, where it was not actively assisted, by Southern troops. In half an hour there was nothing left.

Then a platoon of soldiers arrived at the double, cleared the club, beat a few unfortunate children, and after standing about for a little went away.

By three o'clock the crowd had become very hostile. Stones were flung at the windows of the Returns Office, with the result that the foreign staff beat a hasty retreat upstairs. At the same time the Deputy Commissioner arrived back from the Native Customs; he had been driven from his office, which was completely smashed—even the safe being broken open, stoned and struck at with boat hooks.

Saving Women and Children

When the women and children from the Customs Compound arrived at the hulk about 7 o'clock, a message came from the outdoor staff quarters sent by the Harbour Master to the Commissioner, asking for assistance. In the Commissioner's absence the Nanking Vice-Consul with three other men set out immediately in an endeavour to effect their release. Their house was found surrounded by soldiers, who, although they were supposed to be guarding them, were in fact spending their time pilfering various articles even from the rooms in which they were sitting. After

some trouble the women and children were brought to the B. & S. hulk, the men remaining to protect their goods and chattels as best they might. That night the men slept in the hulk, the women and children occupying berths in the str. Shasi, which was lying alongside. At 3.30 a.m. H.M.S. Emerald arrived in response to a signal from the Wolsey from Nanking and messages were sent to the various people who were still left on shore to proceed immediately on board either the hulk or H. M. S. Wolsey. By 10 a.m. Wuhu was to all intents and purposes evacuated.

Thursday was spent by the Commissioner trying to get assurance of adequate protection, with some success, though at present there are horses as well as soldiers billeted in the Harbour Master's house and in the Customs Club, and to-day, Sunday, we have just heard that three clerks (Chinese) of the Native Customs have been badly mauled, one perhaps fatally, in Wuhu.

MOB RULE IN KIUKIANG

The Worth of Red Promises

Kiukiang, Mar. 16.

The local situation continues so unsettled that although the British Consul's flag was hoisted on March 7, the foreigners still continue to live on the str. Kiangwo. The strike of shipping coolies continues as usual.

"Beat Down the British!"

There have been several unpleasant incidents. On March 12, the anniversary of the death of Sun Yat-sen, in spite of the vilest weather, a large procession marched through the Concession. These processions are invariably accompanied by "slogan-leaders" dressed in the uniform of the political department. They shout out slogans which are repeated by those taking part in the procession. A number of foreigners were watching this particular procession and when the "slogan-leaders" saw them they all shouted "To tao ying kou!" ("Beat down the British dogs!") and the cry was taken up and repeated by the whole procession amidst hoots and jeers at the foreigners.

Small boys now regularly amuse themselves by throwing stones at the players on the club tennis courts. The foulest epithets are hurled at passing foreigners, one of the commonest being "turtle egg," a term than which there is none more insulting in Chinese and one that is far more virulent than, for instance, the French term "cochon." And with all this the foreigners have to put up.

Chinese Officials Powerless

It is useless to apply to the Chinese officials for redress. They

are powerless. They have no control over even their own 30 military police specially detailed to keep order in the Concession. The other day, when a number of posters appeared on the walls of foreign houses, the Consul remonstrated with the officials. It was found that posters had been put up by soldiers from the Chinese town. Some of the ex-Municipal Police, who are still employed by the provisional Chinese administration, were beaten when they attempted to take the posters down. When the military police were sent for, their officer was found to have run away with half his men. So the posters stayed up till dark, when some brave soul went round and pulled them down. The posters read "Kill the British murderers!"

A new magistrate was sent from Nanchang by Li Lieh-chun, the first deputy, to try and enforce order. He started well by driving out a party of agitators who had been specially sent to Kiukiang to institute an anti-British boycott. He next imprisoned the head of the local Farmers' Union, who was particularly obnoxious, whereupon the members of the Farmers' Union retaliated by looting and wrecking his yamên. The magistrate had to run for his life.

He ran to the Concession. Old habits indeed die hard in China!

To-day, March 16, the first day of the Chinese regime in the Concession, the Customs House has been picketed by order of the General Labour Union and no one is allowed in or out. The Customs Chinese Staff are terrified not only for themselves, but also for fear of the injuries which may be done to their wives and children by the members of the Marine Union.

RED KILLINGS IN SHANGHAI SUBURBS

March 24.

It was learned yesterday that a great deal of violence had occurred in Pootung on the previous day. A number of foremen and workers, who had been opposed to the domination of the Labour Union, were arrested during the day by civilians who appointed themselves as judiciary and police and held summary courts-martial. No charges were preferred against those arrested, and a large number of them were executed on the spot. Some shooting also was heard in the afternoon, indicating further outrages by the Communists.

ARSON BY "NATIONALISTS"

March 24.

A representative of the "North-China Daily News" made a tour of Chapei yesterday afternoon and found things, on the whole, very quiet.

The spot where the fires occurred on Monday evening, at the corner of Paoshan and Jukong Roads, was a mass of smoking ruins. Readers can judge the destruction caused when it is realized that, in all, more than 1,500 Chinese shops and dwelling houses were burnt down. The place was strongly guarded by the Nationalist soldiers. Men, women and children, weeping and moaning, were seen among the ruins, trying to scrape out a few belongings. The 3rd District Fire Station was entirely gutted, and among the ruins were the skeletons of three once powerful fire-engines. Smoke was very thick, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that one was able to get a glimpse.

Ghastly sights met the eye. Charred bodies were seen among the ruins and a couple had been placed by the roadside. Coffins had been

prepared by the Chapei Benevolent Society and other organizations.

HANKOW AGAIN SAVAGELY ANTI-BRITISH

Shanghai, March 25.

From Hankow it is reported that Chinese troops have been worked up to a dangerous pitch through consistent propaganda and deliberate falsehoods directed against foreigners. British on the streets were being stopped and threatened with loaded rifles and fixed bayonets and this situation continued for 24 hours. At the end of that time Chinese authorities were able to put a stop to the menace, but British people felt no inclination to appear in the streets regardless of the promised safety to their persons. It is also mentioned that Mr. George Hsu's family have taken refuge in the Japanese Concession, though for what reason it is not known.

All foreign ships has been warned about proceeding down river in the vicinity of Chinkiang, following heavy firing upon the str. Meian on March 22, when opposite Chinkiang, whence she was compelled to turn back.

FOREIGNERS IN FLIGHT BEFORE THE FURY OF THE SOUTHERN TROOPS AND AGITATORS

Photos by Ariel L. Vargas, Far Eastern Correspondent for the International Newsreel Corp., of New York.



FOREIGN REFUGEES AT NANKING BOARDING U.S. WARSHIP



CHILDREN FIRST



NUNS FLEEING FROM THE CONVENT AT SICCAWEI, SHANGHAI



SHANGHAI FOREIGNERS ENTERING SETTLEMENT FOR PROTECTION

Anti-Christ Campaign a la Russe

Mission Churches and Premises are Looted and Missionaries Assaulted

The preaching of atheism goes hand in hand with "Nationalism" in China as it does with Communism in Russia. Chinese Christians who espouse the "Nationalist" Cause and agitate for the elimination of the missionary from the Chinese Christian Church are not persecuted, however, which proves that the Red Anti-Christian movement in China is primarily anti-foreign. The cases of missionary persecution selected for publication below might easily be multiplied by one hundred. They are not particularly striking cases; just fair samples. One fact which these illustrations do not bring out is that these conditions exist almost nowhere outside the spheres of "Nationalist" control, whether before their occupation or after.

OFFICERS OUST LADIES

Hengchow, Hunan, Aug. 20.
Most of the Southern armies have now left Hengchow for the North. Chapels and school compounds were all used as barracks. For several days some officers and soldiers commandeered the basement and first storey of the China Inland Mission residence, ordering the two single German ladies to go to the hot upper storey, and reviling the Chinese Bible woman so that she had to leave the compound. No damage of any consequence seems to have been done to mission property. Some places were left very dirty, and it will cost not a little to clean them up. Horses were turned loose in two of the flower gardens and tramped down the beds considerably. A few things disappeared, such as soap, eggs, an aluminum boiler, etc. Some of the buildings, however, were left in excellent condition, yards cleaned, floors scrubbed, etc. Services in the Chapel were not interfered with.

HOUNDED OUT OF TOWN

Missionary Flight from Red Atheist Agitators

BY THE REV. G. G. WARREN

Changsha, Hunan, Oct. 27.
An anti-Christian, anti-British outburst at the city and indeed throughout the extensive county of Liuyang is, to be sure, only one of what is now a long and, unfortunately, a still growing list of such events, but it justifies a particular report.

The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society has been carrying out evangelistic work in the county of Liuyang for 30 years, for in pre-Boxer days Chinese missionaries were sent there by the Hupeh churches.

Chinese Bolsheviks Arrive

In the past few months Liuyang, which lies about 50 miles due east of Changsha and is on the main road from Changsha to Nanchang and Kiukiang, has seen army after army pass by. In the trail of these armies have come a much smaller but a still too numerous army of the Chinese Bolsheviks, for whose departure from the south Canton was glad.

On Monday evening about half-past seven we were surprised and shocked by the sudden arrival of all our mission staff that are stationed at Liuyang, to wit, Rev. and Mrs. P.E. Beale and child (of 18 months), Rev. C. W. Thompson, Dr. Mary Andrews, Nurse Addy and Miss Pickles. They had nothing, and but little expectation of getting anything of their possessions in the shape of luggage other than ordinary attaché cases.

The following is the story of the events of the preceding week beginning with Sunday, October 17:—

On Sunday, October 17, none of the boys of the Boarding School came to the chapel to attend the usual Sunday service. The Principal (Mr. Beale) inquired the reason and the Chinese Vice-Principal told him that under the influence of other schools, but with a few leaders of our own school, one of the chief of these being a preacher's son, there was a strike against attendance at the usual Sunday services at the Central Chapel. Mr. Beale pointed out that the majority of the absentees were scholarship boys, i.e., sons of preachers or other Christian workers whose parents would wish them to attend services and that, as the guardian acting on behalf of those parents, he could not agree to the attitude they were adopting. Would they either attend the evening service or arrange to free themselves from scholarships regulations and pay the customary school fees? Half-a-dozen boys turned up in the evening, whipped up by the son of one of our Chinese ministers. One result of his zeal was a discussion on the Monday whether he should be thrashed or not—he was let off with a warning.

Attack on Christianity

Monday found nearly all the Christian students most reasonable and they promised to attend on the following Sunday. On Tuesday morning, the Principal took his classes and had no ground of complaint against any student. But that afternoon the boys were summoned to attend a meeting held at the offices of the Agricultural Union (the strongest and most communistic of all the unions recently set up). Other unions—labour, the "Kuomintang," etc.—were represented. The boys were given a document with six demands which they were there and then made to sign. First, all Christian worship, Bible lessons, etc., were to be given up. (2) and (3) (I am not sure about the consecutive order) Sun Wen's literature was to be studied and, to give time for that purpose, less English. (4) The Vice-Principal and a Christian teacher to be dismissed. Their successors only to be appointed after the approval of the boys' union. (5) No boy to be dismissed without the consent of the boys' union. (6) The boys to be given full liberty to join any communistic club they pleased and the school to be run on definitely communistic lines.

Of course, an English school-master would only give one reply to such demands: the school must close down for the time being. Such an answer was throwing the fat into the fire.

Probably the majority of the boys would have preferred to go straight home, and only a small minority really made any sort of pretence at

approving the things they had "demanded." Three managed to get away home, but the rest were stoutly forbidden to leave the school.

Communist Mob Breaks In

On the Wednesday, the two "dismissed" teachers crossed the river to the hill side on which the missionaries' houses stand. As they were returning they saw a large mob preparing to cross the river. The two men wisely made good their own escape. For a couple of hours the mob of communistic students, agriculturists, labour representatives, including at least two soldiers, one of whom made such use of his rifle as he would, while the two men were at the compound entrance doing their best to control the situation, entered the houses in which they found, at the time, only two lady missionaries, the wife of the Superintendent, with her 17 months' baby and a new lady worker who only arrived in China last February. The lady doctor and the nurse were both at the Hospital in the city. The two ladies were treated very rudely, bedevilled and be-dogged, and ordered to produce the two teachers. The servants were also "lart to be toads." It was useless to tell the truth that the teachers had gone. The houses were searched room after room, of course in vain.

The approach of evening happily took the swarm of rough rascals back over the river.

Mr. Beale on returning sent the *hsien* magistrate an account of what had happened and asked him plainly whether he were able and willing to protect either the property or the persons of the missionaries and offering to interview him at any place and hour he would fix. To this appeal there was no reply whatever, either written or verbal.

Slaves of the Reds

On the Friday a meeting of Union Representatives was held when it was decided that the missionaries should be treated in the same way as we shall presently see the two preachers were treated on Sunday; i.e., they were to be brought to the city temple and publicly examined, a preliminary public march through the streets being a part of the programme. Mr. Tan, the city preacher and the best friend of the missionaries, urged them to leave Liuyang at once. So three boats were called and preparations made for the river journey to Changsha. It was late on Saturday afternoon before the start could be made, and a little below the point of embarkation, where the principal ferry crosses from the city, the captains of the three boats went ashore, but Mr. Beale insisted on the boats re-starting. The men, however, would not go much farther down. Then it leaked out that the boats were

under orders to stop near the city for the night and on Sunday morning to take the missionaries back to Liuyang and hand them over to the "powers," not those that were supposed to be in charge of the government of the city, either civil or military, but the powers of the communistic organizations. Threats, bribery, cajolery—all seemed to be alike to the poor terrified boatmen.

They might rightly be called the "slaves" of the Communists. However, for a little while they became the slaves of the foreigners and very unwillingly started down river in the dark.

They had not gone far when a number of lights appeared on the opposite bank and a crowd of roughs ordered the poor slaves to change masters and turn back. There was no time to hesitate: the missionaries decided to land where and as they were. With merely what they were wearing and hastily stuffed attaché cases, they scrambled ashore. One boatman was good enough to guide them on to a road some short distance away, and putting on the best pace they could, they fled. Five miles down they came to a small townlet, where they happily discovered a boatman willing to take them on board at a price. The price was paid and they all clambered on board without a scrap of bedding or suitable food. The bare boat boards were helped out with two poor Chinese bed quilts; for meals the fare was the Spartan diet of the boatmen. They heard that their start was made none too soon. Some of the roughs had been following on and arrived just too late to stop the new voyage.

A Communist School

A quite unexpected sequel followed the refugees down the river. The three boats went back to Liuyang and surrendered themselves to their communistic lords. My lords had already commandeered the school premises, removed the sign board (a significant signboard: our Wesleyan Methodist schools have adopted David Hill's Chinese name as their sign motto: "Trainer of Virtue"—the communists have at any rate pleased us by not masquerading under that sign) and are attempting to train communists in our class rooms. They have demanded that the magistrate shall hand over to them the whole of the Methodist Mission Property. The magistrate has replied that he will do his best to comply with the request, but that the first step must be the placing of the request before the British Consul at Changsha. The three boats could at any rate be the first fruits of negotiation. And so they have been sent on here. The poor magistrate has positively humbled himself to allow these communistic organizations to issue

"passports" to these boats almost similar in language to his own. A few things are missing, but with that exception everything left on the boats has been handed to the "imperialist" owners.

MISSION ATTACKED IN HUNAN

Shanghai, Nov. 27.

According to a message received by the local offices of the China Inland Mission, Nanchowting, in Hunan, has been the scene of rioting in which the mission house and chapel were rather badly damaged.

No personal violence appears to have been offered the missionaries, who are reported to be "all safe."

Nanchowting is in northern Hunan, about ten miles from the shores of the Tungting Lake.

ANOTHER EXPULSION IN HUNAN

From a letter by Mr. G. F. Draffin, of the China Inland Mission, stationed at Nanchowting, Hunan:—

Hankow, Nov. 23.

We had little to warn us that anything was going to happen, save that on the 7th instant a large procession passed our place and the boys of the High School broke the glass of the guest hall windows in front of our church with their flag poles as they passed. Next day I notified the magistrate of this by registered letter, but made no request.

On the 9th a group of schoolboys came in with sticks in their hands unannounced and peered in at the windows while we were having afternoon tea. They walked right round the house on the verandah, and I went out and met them at the back door. In answer to my query as to what they wanted, the leader said they had come in to search for cigarettes. I told him we had none there, but they did not seem inclined to go away till I told them if they were wishing to do away with cigarette smoking I would be glad to help them, and they then went reluctantly away.

A Raid on the Chapel

This made me think that they meant mischief, and on the 12th instant when I saw the procession I put props to all the doors on the street side. About 50 yards in front of the procession was a big boy who kept throwing clods of earth over the wall at our house, evidently trying to break the windows. The schoolboys leading the procession tried to force the entrance doors, but failing to get in they passed on and I thought the danger was over.

However, when the labour section of the procession came opposite the chapel door they halted, first tried to force the door, but failing, they broke out the frame work of one of the guest room windows which are about six feet from the ground, helped a man through, who opened the doors and let the crowd in. Of this I was soon aware by the noise of breaking glass and chapel seats. Partitions separating the guest rooms from the chapel both up and downstairs were torn down and smashed. Even the church bell was carried down over the iron roof and thrown to the ground. Fortunately, however, it was not broken beyond the wheel that the rope goes round. Every window frame, door and seat, along with the pulpit and platform, was smashed.

Living Quarters Invaded

The native quarters then received the attention of the crowd, where little was left that was not smashed. They then broke down the doors separating the church from our yard, even tearing up the gateposts and the fence, which they hurled down the embankment. I had sent Mrs. Draffin and the children down to the washhouse, and as the leaders came up the steps to the backdoor I stepped out and inquired what it was all about. One replied he did not know. They then broke in the door which I had closed behind me, smashed up things downstairs, after which they went upstairs and wrecked the bedrooms. Stoves, sewing machine, typewriter, violin and organ all shared a like fate with the furniture, although the sewing machine seems to still be usable, in spite of the fact that it was knocked off the stand and the stand broken. I think my typewriter also can be fixed, although it is somewhat broken. Most of the doors and window frames were completely smashed up.

Fortunately they got little or nothing in the way of money, missing what Mrs. Draffin had in her desk besides the little I had in my office at the time. The station books also came through unharmed. The door leading to the attic was pushed open, but as far as I could see nothing up there had been smashed. Probably the arrival of the soldiers prevented them from finishing the job.

The Magistrate himself soon came along. He said he had got my letter a few days before, and made inquiries and was told that it was only a few schoolboys that had broken the glass in our windows in passing, so he did not think it was anything serious. He suggested that about \$1,000 worth of damage had been done. I told him I thought it was much more than that. The soldiers remained on guard until evening, and then a guard from the yamen came for the night. We remained in the house, but got little sleep, as the wind arose and whistled through.

Next morning the soldiers came back to relieve the guard from the yamen. About noon one of them told me that we had better go, as the official wanted us to. I replied that we could not go as we were waiting for Miss Todd, who was at an out-station. He said if we did not go they could not be responsible for what happened.

Exit from the Station

Half an hour later they left us. I then sent a note to the Magistrate, asking for a guard for the night. This he sent about dark. We hastily packed our suitcases, had a good many of our boxes put in the care of our next door neighbour, and came quietly out at 11 p.m. We slept nearly a mile away in the house of a gunboat official, who reckons as one of our inquirers, till 4 a.m., when our evangelists came along with the coolies. No chairs or boats were available, so we all had to walk 50 li to Meitienhu, where we stayed till Miss Todd joined us. We had sent our cook for her. As the firing line blocked our way to the north, we came across country to Huayung, and got a boat from there to Yochow. The Commissioner of Customs, Mr. Nolasco, kindly entertained us at Chenglingchi, and we came on by launch, arriving here yesterday.

When coming away I left a message for the Magistrate to seal up the place, and while we were waiting at Meitienhu we were in-

formed that he had the masons on building up a portion of the wall that had been pushed down, and had the carpenter nailing up the doors.

STUDENTS DEMAND CLOSING OF MISSION SCHOOLS

Hankow, Dec. 14.

The semi-bolshevization of schools, missionary and otherwise, coincident with the Cantonese occupation of Central China, is being evidenced by the continual presentation of all sorts of demands by the various student bodies to their respective faculties.

The demands recently put forward by the students of Yale-in-China, which is the largest institution of its kind in Hunan, serve as a general indication of what is going on in other missionary schools in that province. The principal demands were: that tuition fees be decreased; that the college subsidize the students' union; that the students be empowered to dismiss, by vote, teachers of whom they did not approve and that students should not be expelled without the union's sanction.

As it is, the upkeep of the school is already borne to the extent of 80 per cent. by grants from America, the low tuition charges accounting only for the remaining 20 per cent.

Cantonese Give No Redress

The situation at present is a deadlock, most sections of the institution being on strike. The faculty are unable to obtain redress from the Cantonese authorities.

A similar situation cropped up lately at the Central China Teachers' College at Wuchang, where the students demanded the dismissal of certain professors. Appeal to the Southern authorities elicited the answer that they supported the students' standpoint, which they considered perfectly justified.

Finally a meeting was called of the Board of Trustees, representing various missions. The Board decided to close down the college, which has since remained closed.—Reuter.

A RED CHRISTMAS DAY IN HANKOW

Hankow, Dec. 23.

With the advent of Christmas anti-Christian activities are intensifying.

Agitators broke up a girls' school entertainment which was being held by the Wesleyan Mission at Wushinmiao, in the native city. They took charge of the proceedings and made blasphemous speeches, to which the audience was forced to listen.

The David Hill Blind School entertainment was also broken up and the invaders distributed anti-British literature describing the British as tyrants, treating the Chinese as cattle. One of the foreign missionaries who attempted to stop the distribution of pamphlets was seized and carried to the street, where pickets helped to manhandle him, injuring him badly before allowing him to go free.

Dec. 26.

Christmas Day passed off quietly, the threatened trouble proving a damp squib.

Native pastors in most places in the native city did not function at Christmas services.

The anti-Christian meeting held at the New World was supported only by students.

Mission Invaded

There was an incident on Christmas Eve at the Lutheran Mission

in the native city when a body of anti-Christians invaded the premises and removed Bibles, hymn books and texts from the walls.

Three anti-Christian and anti-British meetings were held at Wuchang, Hanyang and Hankow this morning.

It is estimated that 5,000 persons were present at the meeting on the Hanchang Ma-loo in the native city and about the same number in Wuchang and in Hanyang.

The speakers numbered about 40 and represented every section of the Government and Army.—Reuter.

MERRY X'MAS IN CHENG TU

Chengtu, Dec. 27.

Christmas Day was marked here by a number of demonstrations of an anti-foreign and anti-Christian nature. The service in one of the city churches on Christmas Eve was interrupted by students who had obtained entrance to the gallery, they insisting on declaring their views on foreigners and the Christian church. They were finally ejected by the military and a serious situation was only narrowly averted by persuasion of the foreigners present.

During the day there were processions through the main streets, and in the large tea-shops students harangued for hours. A large number of placards and considerable literature had been prepared for the occasion, the placards being posted on walls and gateways. The Y.M.C.A. buildings were liberally covered with posters.

Bands of loafers and a small number of students pushed their way into several Mission compounds, but did not do any damage.

Several foreigners had somewhat unpleasant experiences on the streets and the soldiers in one section of the city were particularly obstreperous in their behaviour.

The threatened trouble for the next day, Sunday, was averted by the police, to whom representations were made by the Consuls.—Reuter.

PERSECUTION IN HUNAN WIDESPREAD

Siangtan, Hunan, Dec. 27.

The Mission Boarding Schools have all had to close, because the pressure from without, and within as well, was so great that the students themselves found it impossible to study. Many of the boys and girls did not want to leave, but there was no way out. When the boys left the Boarding School here some of the ringleaders put up notices all over the compound walls, "Down with Christianity," "Down with imperialism," "Down with foreign aggression." A parade was staged for Christmas day, but it was very quiet, except that a few hooligans got away and entered the Evangelical church and broke up some furniture and broke some glass. They also got into the foreigners' compound and posted posters. The labour headquarters sent men afterwards to protect the place. The local paper yesterday explained it all as a part of the Christians' move themselves so as to blame the Kuomintang. Two of the preachers of the Episcopalian Mission were taken to gaol for not showing proper respect to Dr. Sun when speaking in their own chapel. They were released on the third day. Christian leaders are being persecuted everywhere and there seems a persistent programme of terrorism going on. Many of the pastors and leading teachers are in hiding during the holiday season.

Chapels Entered

Some of the country chapels have been entered and broken up and the inmates left without anything, even their clothes and bedding being taken and burned outside the buildings. In other places the unions are insisting on having the chapels for their own headquarters and forcing the preachers to leave and take down their chapel signs. Religious liberty is non-existent. Liberty and equality on the lips of the speakers means liberty and equality for those in power, and all who have anything to do with foreigners or Christianity are foreign slaves, which means that they are not patriotic. The Government is either powerless or in sympathy with what is going on.

HEATHEN KWANGSI RAMPANT

Wuchow, Kwangsi, Dec. 29.

On December 25 a wire from Waingchow stated that at noon on Christmas day the chapel of the Christian and Missionary Alliance was entered by anti-Christian demonstrators who destroyed the church furniture and looted at leisure. Since then a letter has arrived giving details of the same.

On Christmas day the same form of anti-Christian demonstrations were planned at Waingchow as at other cities, but as no foreign missionary had been stationed in that city for the past 18 months it was hoped that nothing serious would occur. However, on Christmas day when the demonstrators passed the chapel they showed a very hostile attitude. Female students who took part in the parade were perhaps even more demonstrative than the men. After they had yelled themselves hoarse the chapel sign was torn down from its hangings and broken to pieces amid the angry yells of the excited crowd. Then the chapel was entered and benches and pulpit suffered the same fate. Bibles and hymn books were torn up and thrown about the church. It would appear, however, that the Chinese residence in the rear of the chapel was not molested. The crowd having finished their work of destruction, left the building, and the local magistrate, whose yamen is just across the street, sent soldiers to guard the premises.

The chapel at the market town of Konghau, also on the West River, suffered a similar fate.

Workers Threatened

In the city of Kinyuan demonstrators paraded the streets two weeks before Christmas, and various student bodies sent their representatives to the church workers to try and persuade them to leave their "foreign masters," and when their demands were not acceded to they threatened the workers with violence. The rabble demanded that the chapel sign be taken down, and when the magistrate was appealed to for protection he said he was powerless unless the crowd's wishes were respected and the chapel sign taken down. Finally in order to prevent a riot the Chinese preacher yielded and the magistrate sent soldiers and had the sign removed.

The city of Kueiping also did not pass by without its signs of nationalism. Weeks before agitators had been busy holding street meetings and trying to get the crowds worked up to such a pitch that the rabble would resort to violence. The street speakers told their audiences that chapels had been broken into and buildings destroyed in several

cities in Kuangai without the Government taking action against it, and this seemed to indicate that the Southern Government were well pleased to have the missionaries driven out of the land and Christianity exterminated. Thus the crowds were urged to take action and prove their loyalty to the Southern cause. The Christians and workers were warned by friends that the situation was serious, and many advocated requesting that soldiers be sent, but experience has taught the workers that under present conditions soldiers simply stir the crowds to greater deeds of violence, and occasionally join the rabble in running away with the loot. Soldiers therefore were not requested, but the Secretary of Foreign Affairs was notified and he took action and requested the local officials to control the situation.

Christmas-day Riot

On Christmas day crowds of the coolie class both from the city and surrounding country gathered at an early hour, and brought with them various crude implements such as crowbars, wood choppers, carrying poles, etc., and seemed well prepared to break into the chapel if the opportunity occurred. When the procession reached the chapel the crowds were dense, and bent on trouble. They cursed the missionaries and vilified the Chinese workers and threatened all and sundry with violence. Some pounded on the doors in an effort to gain an entrance, but the foreign residents and Chinese on the compound had taken the precaution to have all the doors fastened securely early in the morning, and so the rabble could not break in. Moreover, the officials sent soldiers to follow in the wake of the crowd, and these had a deterring effect on some at least, and so the day passed off without serious mishap. When some of the rabble were returning home that afternoon, they were heard to complain that they had been hanging around all day, but had not been able to get a single thing and had now to return home empty-handed.

Blind Preacher Molested

In Wuchow a small disturbance occurred near the Baptist compound. A blind preacher from Central China has been visiting Wuchow and holding meetings in the various chapels. A few days ago he was invited to conduct a service in the Boys' School. These students had taken part in the demonstrations against the Baptist missionaries in May last, when the missionaries were forced to retire, but the Chinese blind preacher accepted the invitation of the Christian teachers and went to the school at the date set. The students listened to the preaching, but evidently something the old man said did not agree with their fancy, and as soon as the meeting was over the students gave vent to their rage by vilifying the preacher and calling down curses upon his head. The crowd became so unruly that it appeared he might be roughly handled so the teachers hurried the old man out of the school to a place of shelter. The crowd followed booting and cheering, and threatening. The local papers took the matter up and advocated driving the preacher out of the district, and maintaining that the local officials should take action in the matter and carry out their wishes. Up to the present, however, the old man is still conducting services at other places, only in a quieter way perhaps.

RED ATHEIST STUDENTS IN SHANGHAI

Christianity a Foreign Abomination; Mission Schools Foster Cultural Aggression

Shanghai, Dec. 31.

The usual Christmas Day anti-Christian celebrations were carried on by the students on Saturday, at which time hundreds of handbills were distributed, mostly in the native districts, but also a number in the eastern districts in the Settlement. Eight of the radicals were arrested by the police at 8.45 p.m. on Christmas Day at the Beulah Academy in North Szechuen Road and were later handed over to the Chinese authorities.

Anti-Christian Literature

An attempt to hold a mass meeting at the Public Recreation Ground near West Gate failed when the Chinese authorities prohibited any meeting of the kind and stationed police and soldiers at the ground to break up parties of the students who tried to get into the place.

Most of the propaganda which was scattered is said to have emanated from the now notorious Shanghai University in Chapei. On Christmas Eve at 7 o'clock about 200 students met at the school, where they were issued bundles of the bills. The crowd broke up into small groups and walked through Chapei pasting them to telephone poles and scattering them in the various shops. One or two groups came across into the Settlement in the neighbourhood of North Szechuen and Dixwell Roads and scattered the pamphlets.

A translation of the type of handbill distributed by them reads:—

"Let us oppose the cultural aggressive policy which is being furthered by Christianity. Let us restore the right of education. Let us rid ourselves of the control and domination of the foreign missionaries. Let us oppose the suppression of our patriotic movement by the foreign missionary schools. Let us awake the Chinese followers of the Christian faith. Let us participate in the racial revolutionary movement. Let us assist the students in the mission schools in their struggle for freedom."

Another of the radical pamphlets which was distributed principally in Chapei reads:—

The followers of Christianity are the running dogs of the imperialists. Let us suppress the deceitful Christianity.

Another Sample

Yet another handbill which was found in the eastern district reads:—

"A word to the youths on the occasion of Christmas Day. Brethren, today, December 25, is the so-called Christmas Day and many Christians will assemble at churches to celebrate the birth of their saviour, the son of God. We are, however, anti-Christian people. Because, as you know, nothing beneficial to our country has been achieved through Christianity since it came to China. Most of the unequal treaties were concluded in consequence of events which occurred in connexion with missionary troubles. All the missionary schools oppress our Chinese students. In short, all missionary organizations are instructing our people to bear oppression patiently so that after death their souls may go to Heaven.

"Christianity is abominable. For the welfare of our country, we should oppose Christianity to the end. We should remonstrate with Chinese followers of Christianity to join us in the anti-Christian movement.

"On the other hand we may continue to hold our faith in God, but we should at all events get rid of the control of

the foreign priests. We may continue our studies in missionary schools, but we should not take it as a religious teaching.

"On Christmas Day, when the Christian people are rejoicing, we should carry on our anti-Christian movements on a grand scale. The following are our slogans: 'Overthrow Christianity,' 'Oppose missionary education,' 'Wake up Christian people and sever all connexion with the foreign missionaries,' 'Wake up all students and fight against the oppression of the missionary schools,' 'All Christian followers and students should join our revolutionary struggle.' " Sgd. The Anti-Christian League.

THE NEW BOXERISM IN RED HUPEH

Missionaries Escape from Murderous Assault

Tayeh, Hu., Jan. 6.

As has been previously reported, our Christmas celebrations at the Wesleyan Mission, Tayeh, passed off very peacefully and very happily.

However, it had been announced that the New Year was to be celebrated by the various local Kuomintang by a meeting and procession in the afternoon and a lantern procession at night. We did not feel at all sure that we should be unmolested and various plans were made for the ladies getting to a place of safety while these meetings were in progress.

However, careful and repeated inquiry at the local magistrate's office and from the head of the Kuomintang in the town of Tayeh resulted in the very emphatic assurance that there was no cause for alarm and that they would take full responsibility for the safety of all on our compound.

The afternoon passed off without incident and a procession was organized and held. We kept in our houses during the afternoon and took the precaution of closing shutters in case we had a crowd in the compound who wanted to throw stones and break windows.

By five o'clock at night all seemed to be quietly over. The magistrate had sent a company of about 10 soldiers from his guard and they had stood outside the compound and the actual procession had not passed our front gate. We held our usual Saturday evening prayer-meeting at which there was a great feeling of relief at having passed through the afternoon without incident.

About 10.45 at night we retired to bed. I was not fully undressed but my wife and Miss Anderson, who was spending the night at our house, were both ready for bed, when our cook came to our door with a very terrified look on his face to tell us that the mob had come into the compound! We instantly knocked up Miss Anderson and the ladies scrambled into what clothes they could hastily put on while I went out into the passage way that separates our house from that of Miss Booth, the Women's Auxiliary worker at our station.

I found Miss Booth standing in the garden with the small Chinese girl she has adopted in her arms, and another Chinese helper standing by. The preacher who had given us warning of the approach of the mob was there and we went down to the back gate with the intention of getting Miss Booth off with the preacher into the country.

However, when we got to the gate voices and lights on the other side of the wall made us afraid that the mob were also at the back gate,

so leaving Miss Booth with the preacher I hurried back to collect up the other two ladies. They were soon ready and we were out at the door of our house and running down the passage way when the mob burst in by the gate which leads from the Hospital Compound to our houses.

The leaders of the mob saw us as we made for the back gate, and as we neared the gate two terrific thumps on my back from half bricks hurled with all their might made me feel certain that the mob were out for nothing short of murder.

Foreign Woman Felled

For me to get out the key and unlock the gate and get it unbolted and pushed open all of course took a few seconds, which allowed the leaders of the mob, three villainous fellows armed with coolie poles, to come up with us. Hastily telling Miss Anderson to extinguish the lamp she was holding and getting her through the door out on to the road outside I next called to my wife, but no response came. With sinking heart I called again, and that call just awakened sufficient consciousness in her for her to feel that she must reply and keep hold of her consciousness or we should all be killed, and she said "They've hit me!"

There she was down on the ground. Just before the light had been extinguished one of those fiends let loose had struck a murderous blow at her with his coolie pole, and striking her on the side of the head over the left eye had felled her to the ground. The brutal blow actually fractured the skull, as X-ray examination has subsequently shown. A second or two more and we all three must have been battered to death, but our faithful old dog had stood between us and the mob and they had given back the needed seconds to get the door swung open.

With a grip on her arm I helped my wife to scramble out on hands and knees into the road outside, and, as Miss Booth was nowhere to be seen, we concluded that she must have escaped with the preacher another way, while I had rushed back to the house to fetch the other two ladies.

As we subsequently discovered, our cook had helped to hide her in the thick bamboo bushes and so undoubtedly saved her life, the Chinese lady helper being with her, too, all right, and keeping her end.

When we were once outside I pulled the heavy gate to, after us, and in the darkness the mob did not know which way we had gone. This gave us the margin of time needed. Miss Anderson ran along the flagged road just by the compound wall, throwing away her rug and coat as she ran so as not to impede her movements.

Half carrying my wife, who still retained enough consciousness to keep her feet going but who was quite unable to stand by herself, we sped along the road expecting at any moment to have the infuriated mob at our heels.

Out Into the Fields

Passing the open school gate and seeing some Chinese there who told us to go quickly, I called quietly to find if Miss Booth were there, and we concluded that she had already got out by that exit, as I got no response.

We turned, as soon as we could, into the darkened fields and, by ways that we had explored in daylight a few days before, we made our way between high banks,

avoiding houses, and across muddy little banks, across the lake water until we seemed to have shaken off the mob.

Looking back we could see what we thought was the light of our houses burning, and sinking down now and then for rest and then once again eagerly pushing forward we tried to put as great a distance as we possibly could between us and our would-be murderers.

(There follows a long account of night wanderings over unfamiliar paths, and then comes capture again).

We transferred to the new boat, which was larger than our little boat, and were just settling down for the night, the boatman having promised to go at dawn, when we were surprised by the arrival of three young fellows, one of them in soldier's uniform, who inquired who we were and what we were doing. I went to the prow of the boat to interview them, and what followed is a long story.

Suffice it to say that after being kept in great suspense and no little danger for two days, with our boat tied up to the river bank, we were taken inland to a small town, where we ran the greatest risks from a very anti-foreign crowd.

A "trial" took place in the central Yamen of this town and had it gone contrary to the wishes of the crowd it would have meant the end of us, a little company of foreigners as we were cut off from all help.

Ruined Houses and Goods

However, the Tayeh Magistrate sent down a guard and the next day we were taken to Tayeh, where the Magistrate and his staff did all they could to help us and were very good to us. We went up next day and saw the remains of our ruined houses and goods. The mob had destroyed nearly all. Doors, windows, and furniture were smashed to bits, glass lay splintered over everything. However, most of our books were intact, and a few garments, which included one tin case of clothes which had been too much for them to open: an eloquent testimonial to the maker—long may he live!

That same day we reached Huang-shihkang and came by Japanese steamer to Hankow to discover that we were not out of the wood even then!

THE "CHRISTIAN GENERAL" NOW RED

Shensi Province, under Feng Yü-hsiang, who lost his much advertised Christianity in Russia, is now rabidly anti-missionary—under Soviet instruction, of course. The following is only a sample of the many reports of the growth of this spirit in the northern provinces controlled by the "Christian General".

Sianfu, Jan. 13.

Elaborate preparations were made in every centre to stir up, during the Christmas season, anti-foreign and anti-Christian feeling. Posters were everywhere exhibited, and handbills were widely distributed denouncing Christianity in the strongest and most riotous terms.

In San-Yuan—a notorious student centre—efforts were made to enlist the co-operation of the Red-spear party in the anti-Christian demonstrations. The magistrate announced his inability to do anything in the way of protecting life or property. The military official was known to be actively hostile, and refused to see the Christian delegation who called upon him. Fortun-

ately the local gentry, knowing the virulence of the feeling, and having the greatest respect and admiration for the Christians, took action, called upon the general with the result that no actual injury was done on Christmas day there.

Sianfu Disorders

In Sianfu the students broke up the service being held in the West-suburb church, in their usual unreasonable way of all asking questions at the same time, and none willing to permit an answer.

At Yao-chow students smashed the sign over the church door, and stoned the compounds. At other stations the Christians have been severely threatened, but we are still without news of what has transpired. At Pei-tung-kuan, long before Christmas, students demanded that the deacon there should remove the church sign and recant. The good man replied that he would communicate with the pastors at San-Yuan, affirming that, if they instructed him to take down the sign he would immediately do so, but failing such instructions he would not on any account, even although it meant that they imprisoned him or slew him.

Bad Times Ahead

At San-Yuan efforts have been made to cause the Christians to recant, but without avail. It is, however, widely felt that a very severe testing time is still ahead, and on Christmas-eve it was suggested to the one remaining foreigner that he should get out of the town, as bloodshed was by no means an improbable eventuality, but he did not go. The students have petitioned the authorities to the effect that all church and foreign property be confiscated, and as they affirm that every evil in China has come with the gospel, it is the duty of all to drive Christianity and the foreigner out of the land. And when one remembers that recently the most powerful man in the civil and military life of the town, has been preaching mob-law to the coolie crowds, one cannot look upon the immediate future with any great decree of security.

KIUKIANG SIMMERS

Kiukiang, Dec. 28.

An anti-foreign strike has been started in this city and strike-pickets are arbitrary in their conduct.

BOXER CHARGES REVIVED

Foochow Missionaries Accused of Murdering Babies; Violence and Destruction the Result

The following is a report written by a local authority in support of disputed versions of the incident in the press:—

When the Cantonese army under Gen. Ho Yin-ching began its northward advance in the autumn of 1926 the sentiment of the people of Fukien could be described as friendly, and as these troops entered Fukien's borders a widespread welcome met them. Bandit troops enrolled under Gen. Ho. The common people gladly carried loads and furnished food for the troops. A well-executed campaign of publicity so affected Foochow itself that, after the defeat of Governor Chow Jinsen's forces in the southern part of the province, the Northern troops left in the capital were already de-

feated. Most of them retreated before the southern army came within sight of the walls. The retreating soldiers were accompanied by most of the military and civil rulers, so that for a few days Foochow was left in a state of terrorism caused by the activities of the so-called "Student Army." These young soldiers, well armed and supplied with hand grenades, did as they pleased, and it was during this time that the barbarous murder and subsequent mistreatment of Chang Kuo-hua, an ex-detective of the Northern militarists, stained the reputation of Fukien.

It was on the morning of November 30 that the first real Kuomintang troops entered the city. No fighting occurred between these troops and the Northerners, but in a populous valley just south of Foochow some bloody engagements took place and even more serious looting and burning of villages. After a few days Gen. Ho himself arrived and at once proceeded to organize a government along Kuomintang lines. Coincident with this there was a regular flood of propaganda, well prepared posters covering the walls and being changed daily. Churches and schools were seized for the use of the soldiers. In most cases this was done in a friendly manner, just as temples and guild-halls and private homes were used; but there were some examples of hostility to the Christian work and workers.

Conditions outside Foochow followed much these same lines. In Siensu there was serious anti-Christian agitation, agitation which was begun at the time Gen. Ho himself was in the city and in control. Far up the Min River at Shaowu the soldiers did as they pleased, and their pleasure was anything but has been taken in common with Can-pleasant for the foreigners there.

Babies' Eyes for Medicine

The government was slowly being perfected, accompanied by a much more effective use of propaganda, when on January 14 occurred the rioting at the Holy Childhood Orphanage, an institution conducted by Spanish Catholic sisters. Here some agitators saw a man carrying away for burial the bodies of some babies, and almost immediately the rumour was broadcast that the nuns were boiling the babies and taking their eyes for medicine. The dead bodies were taken to the police station and photographed. That day a mob attacked the orphanage and badly wrecked it, forcing the nuns and priest to flee.

On Saturday there was a spirited campaign of propaganda. Hurriedly prepared posters were exhibited all over the city, urging the destruction of Christianity and the driving out of the foreigners. On Sunday, the 16th, this effort was redoubled, one means being a truck which went over the streets of the city, declaring that "to-day is the date for driving out the foreigners."

Despite this seemingly official effort to arouse the populace, no popular action followed. But during the day mobs of soldiers from the Nationalist army raided the Central Institutional Church, the Y.M.C.A., two hospitals and a girls' school operated by the C.M.S., two residences of the American Board Mission, and a hospital run by a Chinese Methodist. At all these places looting was the order of the day, and whatever could not be stolen was smashed. Two British men were injured and two British women were very roughly handled, escaping with badly torn clothes. The rioting went on most of the day

and was stopped in late afternoon by armed troops sent from the yamen.

Missionary Evacuation

On the following day the consuls went to see Gen. Ho but were unable to have an audience. An underling was sent to them instead, and he offered no promise of protection of foreign lives or property. As a result the American Consul, after consultation with Peking, advised all Americans resident in his area to evacuate. Most of those from interior stations followed his advice, as did also the wives and children of residents in Foochow itself. The British did not follow so drastic a course, but missionaries were called to the hsien cities. This action brought almost immediate results in a change of Government attitude. But the evacuation of Americans proceeded until there were left about 100 only in the entire consular district.

At present Fukien is quiet, but with many ominous signs. No government schools have opened this term, but permission was granted by the Government for private schools to open, and all mission schools in Foochow have seized the opportunity. Some of these are having a great deal of trouble from outside agitation. On the campus of one a bomb was laid with a threatening placard. Others are having no difficulty at all. Christianity as such is constantly under attack through posters and there is a certain amount of minor persecution. No serious troubles have come since the big riots of January. As a result the American consul has given permission for "essential" residents to return to Foochow itself and to stations under the control of the Chinese Navy. This includes only three counties.

ANARCHY IN A MISSION SCHOOL

Swatow, Jan. 14.

Subsequent to the May 30 episode, the male students of the several schools in the American Baptist Mission compound here started to raise funds for the purpose of establishing a Chair of Military Science in the Swatow Academy, the most recent of the many buildings within this compound. As subscriptions were received, they were deposited with the President of the academy.

Until recently, the President of the academy was one of the senior American missionaries here, but out of deference to the desires of the students (and possibly also as being in line with the policy of the Board) the President has lately changed places with the Vice-President, a native.

Since the above change became effective, the students have become unruly and aggressive, dictating the rules under which they will consent to attend classes and sit for examinations, etc. The new President soon found his position intolerable, and had to abandon his post.

What hastened his departure was the fact that the students were demanding that the money already collected, some \$1,100, be handed over to them as they had decided to donate it to the funds of the Northern Expedition.

The Persuasive Manner

The President declined to hand the money over, though on what

grounds it is not certain. Owing to the disputes between the faculty and the students, many of the moderates had returned to their homes, and classes had come to a standstill. Those who remained in the compound, therefore, had ample leisure to devote to trying to coerce the President. Eventually they became so threatening that he had to go into hiding, first handing over care of this money to an American missionary resident within the compound.

The students then transferred their demand for the return of the money to the American, but he likewise declined, pending proper instructions from the majority of those who subscribed it. All the above is to clear the ground and explain what follows.

A few evenings ago, a party of four of these students went to the American's house and asked him to go with them to the academy, where the rest of them were assembled for the purpose of putting forward new proposals for the disposal of this money.

With no thought of any ulterior motives on the part of these

wife. It was for the return of the Military Training Fund of the Academy that the students had to send representatives to see the American Treasurer. The Military Training Fund of the Academy is, as will be recalled, a sum of money of more than a thousand dollars, collected by the students shortly after the May 30 incident, for the purpose of establishing an additional course of study of military science in the institution. This money the students recently decided to appropriate for a donation to the Northern Expedition Fund. When called upon to hand back the money, the American Treasurer became furious and upbraided the students. The students argued with him and reasoned with him, and the American felt this as a cause of an outburst of indignation, because of which he struck and kicked the students, and his wife opened fire on them to help him. The students were no match for this sort of barbarism, and as a result the four representatives were made victims of bloodshed in the movement of Anti-American Imperialistic Cultural Aggression."

A TYPICAL RED LIE

"What do you think of Christianity and Missionaries in China?" I questioned. "Will the Nationalist Government continue to sanction Missionary activities in China, or will they be banned?"

"I have no quarrel with Christianity," said General Chiang, "and Missionaries will always be welcome as heretofore. The elimination of Missions from China is not part of our programme, and they may function in this country without interference as always."

The above is from an interview with General Chiang Kai-shek for the "Hankow Herald," November 19, 1926. The pledge was being broken as it was made and has been broken daily ever since in every province under Red control.—Ed.

MISSION LOOTED IN KIANGSI

Kiangsi, Feb. 1.

Kiangsi has been much in the limelight these past weeks. The looting of Kiukiang and the evacuation of half a dozen or more of the inland mission stations, etc., has drawn attention to the province and its condition. The wave of anti-foreign and anti-Christian feeling has touched most parts, injuring the promoters far more than those whom they regard as their enemies and the enemies of their country.

Loping, in northeast Kiangsi (some 500 li from Kiukiang), saw the looting and partial destruction of the mission premises there. The foreign workers were not injured, except in nerves, though they lost most of their belongings. The stations on the Kwangsin River, and also some in other parts of Kiangsi, have been occupied by the Southern troops. Sometimes the only buildings occupied by these troops were the mission buildings, though there were empty barracks near. Often these troops were well-behaved, but sometimes they pilfered, burned furniture for firing, and were insulting.

ANTI-FOREIGN "CHRISTIANS"

Shanghai, Feb. 5.

"Faith in the immortal principles of Jesus, and not in Imperialism of

some aggressive foreigners," is given as the main reason by the Chinese Christians at Lanchow, Kansu, in their manifesto, for their belief in Christ. On the other hand, they continue, the Chinese law, in spirit and letter, does not forbid freedom of worship. In order, therefore, to clear away misunderstandings among the Chinese, these Christians have organized a Chinese Christian movement, supported by Chinese, and entirely free from the dictates of foreign pastors.

MISSIONS LOOTED BY REDS

Shanghai, Feb. 10.

A telegram received by the China Inland Mission states that one of their large boys' middle schools in West Szechuan, at Luchow, has been looted, following shortly upon the departure of the mission workers. This is one of the first reports that actually show looting to be in process, although many missionaries who have left inland and disturbed centres feel in their hearts that if depredation of their property has not already occurred, it is more than likely to occur in the future.

It is now definitely stated that all missionary women and children are being evacuated from Eastern Szechuan, with possibly the men in the near future. Some of those who were attending a conference at Mienchow received word that they would not be allowed to return to their homes, west of that place, but must leave immediately for downriver. They found themselves in a particularly bad plight and arrived in Shanghai with scarcely more than a change of clothes and few of the necessities of living.

A report has been received from Linkiang, in Kiangsi, that a wire sent by the Waichiaopu of the "Nationalists" proclaims protection for the life and property of every foreigner, with especial reference to the British, there. A short time before this, however, the Roman Catholic priests in that city suffered indignities and were turned out of their compound by the officials in charge.

Seven workers of the China Inland Mission are reported stranded at Haimen, a port midway between Ningpo and Wenchow, and the growing commercial port for Taichow in Chékang. These missionaries, who made an attempt to leave, have been unable to get on board a boat to bring them to Shanghai, and, as it is impossible to get telegraph communications through, their exact situation is unknown.

MISSION DESTROYED BY A MOB

"Nationalist" Officials Powerless to Check Rioters After Inciting them

BY THE REV. A. E. BEARD
China Industrial Mission, Loping,
Kiangsu.

Shanghai, Feb. 10.

For some time previous to the riot, there had been a lot of anti-Christian and anti-foreign propaganda in the city consisting mainly of posting up inflammatory posters and public meetings held from time to time. An anti-Christian Society had been formed, and most,

if not all, of the local believers had been approached with a view to making them break off all connexion with us. Very few were affected thereby. Right up to the day of the riot all our services had been held continuously. Of the 5,000 odd Southern soldiers who had passed through the city, not one had been quartered on our compound. On the few occasions when we had gone on the street the local shopkeepers had appeared quite friendly. All these things, in addition to having heard of General Chiang Kai-shek's manifesto assuring protection to all Mission compounds under his jurisdiction, caused us to think that the local situation need not give us any apprehension; therefore the riot was most unexpected.

Workmen's Guild Break Loose

On the day previous to the riot (Saturday, Jan. 22) we had received Dr. Judd's letter, stating that the Consul's advice was for immediate evacuation. On the strength of this we commenced hasty preparations for leaving Loping the following Tuesday morning. On the Sunday morning (Jan. 23) we learned that another public meeting had been arranged for midday by the local Workmen's Guild, so, acting on the advice of trustworthy Chinese Christians, we shut our front door at the close of the services.

During the afternoon, about 3 p.m. we heard a noise in the street outside our front gate, and on hurrying out I learned that a procession had come to a stop there, and many voices clamoured for admission. I padlocked the front gate and went inside for prayer with my fellow workers, who were upstairs. In a very short time we were surprised to hear crashing noises down below, and on hurrying downstairs I saw several men of the working class, with perhaps one student amongst them, hard at work smashing all the windows of the ground floor rooms. I shut the inside doors and hurried upstairs again to join the ladies in further prayer. In a few minutes, during which most awful crashing noises were heard, the lower floor seemed to be full of people, all bent on their work of destruction and plunder.

Mob Fury

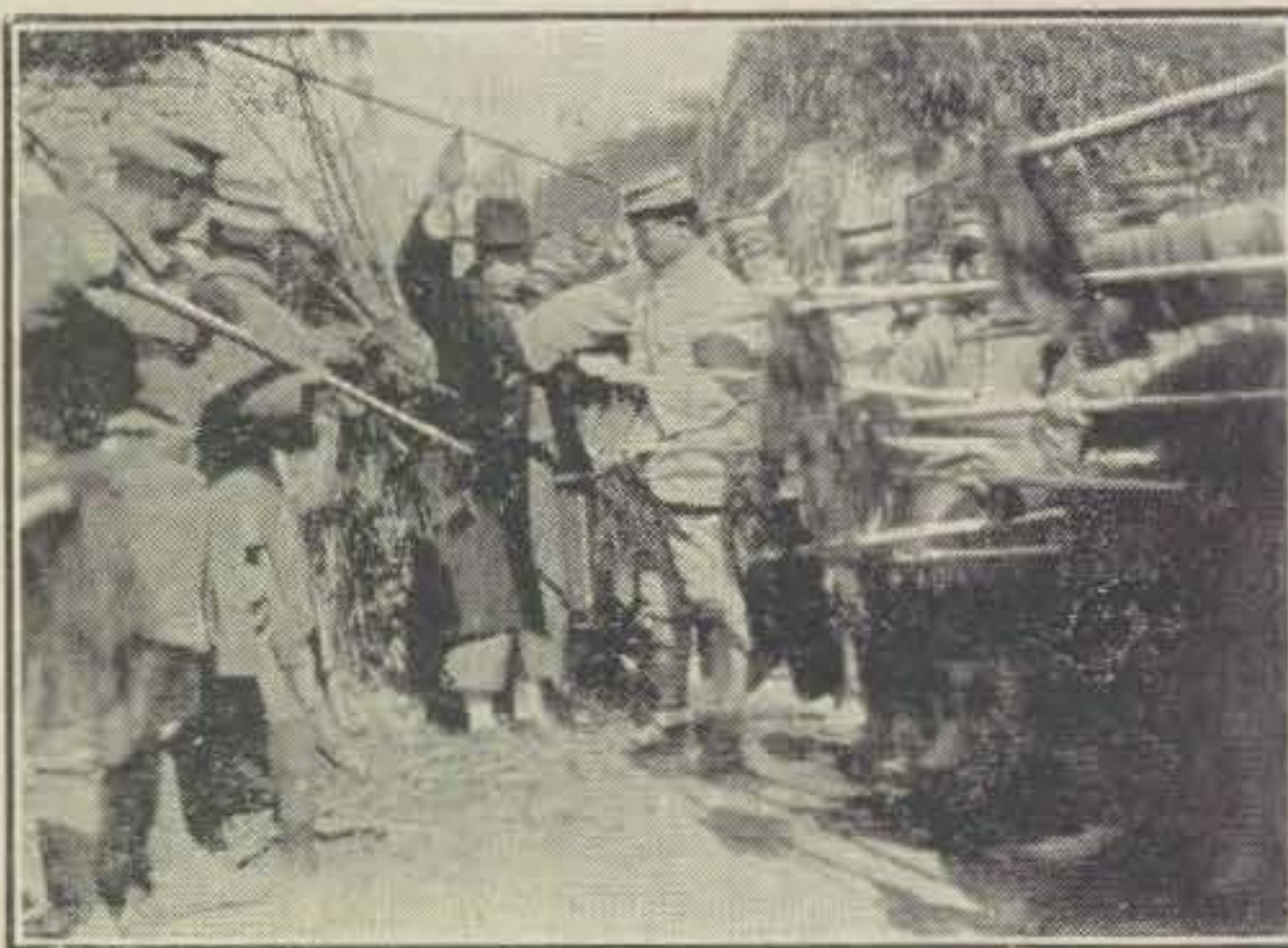
Listening intently, I heard some one say "upstairs" and knew that the rioters were bent on further trouble. As they rushed upstairs, I stood at the top and by means of holding tightly to the banisters, and with one hand against the wall, was able to keep them back for half a minute or so. Just when several men had almost loosened my hold and were about to drag me downstairs, a good number of the leaders of the local branch of the Nationalist Party broke their way through the mob and eventually succeeded in forcing them downstairs again. We heaved a sigh of relief and breathed our thanks to God, hoping that these leaders would be able to prevail upon the rioters to disperse. This they found it very hard to do, and we, on entering our bedrooms, were horrified to find that several rioters had already found their way to them by means of a long ladder they had secured and were rapidly emptying the rooms of all their contents.

What they couldn't secrete on their persons, they threw out of the windows to the mob in the front courtyard, and soon a huge fire was making short work of our earthly possessions. Before long many people had forced their way upstairs and it was impossible to distinguish between friend and foe. However,

the rioters were not bent on doing any bodily injury, but evidently wished to strip the house clean of everything. Having already gathered up their handbags the Misses Wray, Twidale and Day, on the advice of the friendly leaders, left under escort for the Yamén and my wife and I followed a minute or so later. Much kindness was shown to us at the Yamén, where we all stayed until the following Tuesday afternoon, when we boarded a boat and left the city for Jaochow and Kiukiang.

Sad Scene of Wreckage

On the day following the riot, acting under the advice of the local magistrate, I went over with an escort, including the sub-magistrate and chief of police, to see whether there was anything left out of the wreckage. The sight that met my gaze was saddening. The larger part of the front courtyard was strewn with still smouldering embers, and amongst the wreckage



A CHINESE SEARCH PARTY

was Miss Day's typewriter, quite ruined by fire. What hadn't been burnt was smashed beyond repair, and the floors of the ground floor rooms were covered with debris. Not a single pane of glass was intact, not a single picture had been left on the wall, nor a curtain before the windows. The walls were swept bare and destruction reigned supreme. Upstairs was a little better, as the furniture in two bedrooms was almost intact, but everything of value personally was gone, with the exception of the back bedroom occupied by Miss Wray and Miss Twidale. Somehow or other the leaders had managed to save that room's contents from destruction.

In addition to the damage done in the foreign house, the chapel windows and furniture were all destroyed or taken away, and damage was also done to the new school building.

Nationalist Apologies

The Chinese helpers and servants on the compound suffered little loss.

The Chairman of the local Nationalist Party apologized for what the workmen (rioters) had done and said that they had got entirely out of hand. The leaders sowed the wind and we reaped the whirlwind.

RIOTS AT CHENG TU

Red Money Used to Incite Mob to Violence

Extracts from the "West China Missionary News"

Early in September we heard of the rapid "success" of the Canton

army. The news of the fall of Yochow on the Yangtze put the pro-Northerners here in a flurry and greatly elated the left wing of the Kuomintang. And now came the news of the bombardment of Yang Sen's yamén and camp at Wanhhsien. This general had wantonly fired on the gunboats when they sought to release some captive Britishers on two steamers he had practically seized. Hence the gunboats' reply. This gave the Chengtu Bolsheviks the excuse they needed to begin an open campaign against foreigners.

Immediately a boycott was proposed. Students, as ever, were used to propose this. A meeting was called. But certain friendly teachers primed their own boys as to what to say and sent them in such numbers that they swamped the voting against the "Reds."

Outgeneralled along this line, they went ahead along another. Ten odd students of the Union

Christian University were bribed to foment mischief there. And it soon began with a vengeance. Wild misstatements, barefaced misrepresentation, dished up with a lot of patriotic talk, stampeded half of the students into a frenzied anti-foreign demonstration against their professors.

But "murder would not hide"; the truth came out almost before their wild shouting ceased. A friendly Chinese "on the inside" made it known to us that this was all part of a Bolshevik plan. Thirty "wan" or \$300,000 had come to Szechuan for propaganda. One of the aims of the "Reds" was to turn out the foreign teachers and seize the university as their headquarters. Everything, therefore, was explained.

This same Chinese gave the names of certain leaders, their addresses, etc., with an uncanny certainty which each succeeding day demonstrated all he had said. Li T'ieh Fu, a chief of staff of General Liu Wen Hwei, directed the campaign. Under him worked certain organizations, the principal being the Sueh-ch'i-hwei or "Country-shame cleansing association," ostensibly a patriotic, but in reality nothing but a Bolshevik society.

The churches now realized the virulence of this attack on Christianity. All sorts of things began to be threatened. To their chagrin, two of their Christian leaders openly fraternized with the enemy in giving it out that they too belonged to the students' patriotic society!

A band of U.U. students who had left next formed a T'ui-hsioh Tuan, a body to coerce the loyal students from attending classes. They also

sat in conference with the Sueh-ch'i-hwei as to how to wreak their spite on the foreign professors. The boycott plan was again adopted. Liu Wen Hwei gave \$4,000, it is affirmed, to finance that. The heads of the foreigners' servants' union were ordered to make up a list of our servants' names and call off work. Twenty cents per day was to be paid to each idle servant.

The Sueh Ch'i Hwei assuredly did row, for they and their chief had to show their tempters proof of having acted as directed. Foreign houses had pickets posted outside to see that no one worked for us or sold us any food. Servants caught were fined or beaten or both. Two were labelled with offensive epithets and paraded through the streets. One, an ex-C.I.M. Christian, the Adventist gateman, on being taken back a prisoner to the society's headquarters in the Tong Hang street, so preached the gospel to them in spite of their threats, exchanging texts for curses, that at last they were glad to get rid of him!

The Sueh Ch'i Hwei further published a list of "foreign slaves," 36 in number, giving the names of prominent Chinese Christian leaders. The intention was to defame their reputation permanently in Chengtu. It included the same two who, to save themselves, had it given out at the start that they too were anti-foreign. The publication let the pair see they had sold themselves for nought.

The Press and Hospital staffs refused to leave. The servants of the hospital after a few days grew afraid and left. The patients, among whom were some military officers, at once engaged a fresh lot, enabling this institution to continue running. The Sueh Ch'i Hwei found this galling and planned a raid. Most opportunely the visit of a missionary to the Press found a lot of their rowdies collecting at the bridge and promptly got the Press shop door and Press gate closed in their faces. Going on he got the hospital gate closed also. But they caught Mr. Pen, the Press manager, an hour later. Only the active and united protest of missionaries and Christian leaders prevented his being paraded as a "foreign slave" through the city.

It would take too long to describe the posters put up against foreigners and Christianity. Suffice it to say that the Bible and Mark's gospel in one was labelled as China's shame. The name used for the Bible was the A.B.S. one of "Sheng King." A drawing of the Cross was marked as China's foreign calamity. On another poster the Bible was represented as an auger boring out the heart of the nation. Evidently we are circulating too many gospels for their liking.

The fortnight it lasted the boycott was very exasperating. It inflicted both indignity and inconvenience. The Consul-General truly described it to the officials as a war on women and children. The worst sufferers were our greatly respected veteran missionaries, Dr. and Mrs. Lewis, Mr. and Mrs. Franck with their sick and helpless girl, and the ladies of the Women's Hospital, whose servants all left. It will be long before we forget the shame of our servants being forced like sheep through the streets in a demonstration against their masters. The most were anxious to return and serve. We shan't forget, either, how when the rowdies burst open the inner gate of the U.M.C. school compound Miss Sparling stood in the "breach" and held them all back.

How the "Nationalist" Agitates

Soviet Tactics Faithfully Aped under Russian Guidance

Borodin's open participation in all the councils of the "Nationalist" ruling clique, not to mention his habit of making anti-foreign public speeches, as well as the equally open direction of the Red armies in the field by General Galen (alias Blucher, an Austrian), are evidence enough of the Bolshevik character of the anti-foreign Southern movement. They are perhaps less convincing, however, to those familiar with Red Russian methods than the propaganda which precedes, accompanies and follows every military unit. Communism and atheism among the student intelligentsia, and Boxerism among the semi-criminal riff-raff (euphoniously known in Red literature as the peasants and workers) are the obvious ends of all agitation in China as in other fields of Soviet work. A few months ago, when a member of the British House of Commons ventured to suggest that there was Russian inspiration behind the "Nationalist" movement, Sir Austen Chamberlain begged to differ. It is left to the reader of the following clippings to decide who was right.

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

Hangchow, Hunan, Aug. 30.

Street-agitators and soap-box orators of the army daily berate imperialism. The boycott of the Show Humiliation Society is only a modern edition of the Boston Tea Party. Many were friendly to Americans and to missions. But some claimed that America is the most imperialistic of all Powers, since she (1) started the Dawes plan which will enslave Germany for several generations, (2) is ruled by capitalists, and (3) worst of all, does not recognize the Russian Soviet Government, which is the only enlightened and humane government in the world. Missions in China are imperialistic because they are largely supported by capitalists, missionaries have capitalistic outlook, missions teach religion which is mere superstition used to "drug" the poor working man and to make him content with his unbearable lot, missions in China depend on the "unequal treaties," and mission schools are not to be used by patriotic Chinese since such schools do not make their chief concern to teach Sun-Wen-ism and Communism — "C. C. Post."

SPREADING THE DOCTRINE OF HATE

Shanghai, Sept. 8.

A missionary writing from Hunan says:—

"We are in the midst of an invasion of Soviet and Communistic soldiers. Their Publicity Branch or agitators for Communism are in the front rank of the army, and usually or arrival at any place, even before the army is settled, they are on the prominent street corners proclaiming the beauties of Communism, explaining the object of this invasion and showing up the faults of the churches, especially those of the British societies. It is with especial venom that they speak of British Christians, members of the Chinese Churches. They particularly try to heap indignities upon the Church of Jesus Christ, and of all branches they hate the British most."

RED CHECK ON MILITARY

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

Kanchow, Kiangsi, Sept. 10.

Each officer I understand has a political party representative attached to his staff, whose duty it is to scrutinize all despatches, sayings, and general party trend, and report daily to headquarters by wire. Thus the Nationalists are keeping close watch on their men

and any deflexion from the correct standards is summarily dealt with. The representative's name appears on a level with the General's on the proclamations, though I am informed he has nothing to do with the purely military part of the routine.

Student Propaganda

There is also a company of students with the troops whose duty it is to preach on the streets at convenient places the doctrines of Dr. Sun, telling the people what blessings will accrue to them by the strict observance of his principles.

The walls in many places are decorated with announcements to all workmen and labourers to unite for strength, to help the military if

RED AGITATION AGAINST NATIVE AUTHORITIES

Shanghai, Oct. 25.

A student radical from Shanghai University was arrested by the Chapei police in Jukong Road on Thursday night while he was distributing anti-Sun literature. He is being detained. About 200 students of the same school held a meeting at their school in Chapei, at which time speakers gave violent Anti-Sun speeches and proposed the organization of a Citizens' Autonomous Government in Shanghai.

About 50 labour agitators and members of the Red section of the Kuomintang succeeded in holding a meeting in the Commercial Press on Thursday evening, when speeches

precautions. Forty-six "workers" are said to have come from Canton to arouse the labouring classes here, and to have been distributed in the Yangtzepoo and Pootoo Road districts. Fifty Whampoa cadet officers, who were to have arrived before Hsia Chao attempted his coup and who were to lead the local troops, are also reported to have arrived on Saturday, their s'amer being delayed for more than a week calling at various ports and through the strong seas. They now propose, it is said, to organize guerilla warfare and dare-to-die corps.

Propaganda continues to be disseminated widely, most of it attacking Marshal Sun and Dr. Ting. The authorities have consequently instituted searches on local printing establishments.

A POSTER DISPLAYED AT HANGCHOW



"BLOOD AND SWEAT" IS BEING SQUEEZED OUT OF THE VICTIMS BY THE DOUBLE PRESS OF LONG HOURS AND SMALL PAY, WHILE THE BLOATED FIGURE OF "CAPITAL" ON THE LEFT IS SUCKING IT THROUGH A TUBE FROM THE VAT INTO WHICH IT FLOWS

they desire all these good things, etc., etc.

To-day they staged a very great Nationalist meeting outside the East gate. There was a decorated platform and some long speeches, deploring all the foreign articles which were still being used, and all the amount of money which found its way into foreign coffers, etc., etc.

Handbills were given out at the end, exhorting to opposition to all "Imperialists," and all the "running dogs" thereof, and giving as their watchword several of those usual high-sounding sentences which have been dealt round for the last six months or more.

were made and resolutions passed to the effect that local organizations unite in demanding the withdrawal of Marshal Sun's army from Shanghai, that a Shanghai Citizens' Government be organized and that they form an intelligence group of 40 cyclists to carry dispatches between the various groups of labourers.

Students and labourers threatened to hold a demonstration on Saturday, but they were stopped by the authorities.

The local situation is easier, but Kuomintang agents and students are renewing their activities, so the authorities in the Settlements as well as Chinese territory are taking

THE PROPAGANDA MADNESS

Changsha, Hunan, Oct. 27.

The propaganda of anti-Britishism and of Communism is prodigious. Never before has the city been so billed, placarded, circularized or so snowed under showers of leaflets. Of course they are achieving no small success. However worthless as an argument a statement may be, it only needs incessant repetition without either contradiction or modification for it to be accepted.

SHANGHAI LABOUR ON RED ANNIVERSARY

Shanghai, Nov. 8.

Local Soviets and Bolshevik sympathizers celebrated the 9th anniversary of the October Revolution in Russia against the Kerensky Government on Sunday.

Besides the reception at the Soviet Consulate the labour sympathizers of the Soviets held a meeting on Sunday.

Circulars bearing the signature of the Shanghai Committee of the Chinese Communist Party were distributed at the meeting as follows:—

To-day is the anniversary of the victory of the world's labourers as well as the anniversary of their successful revolution.

Nine years ago the Russian labourers who were well organized and led by Communists started the Revolution in Russia, overthrew the Russian monarchy and capitalism and established a Labour Government. Since then the Russian labourers have become free and have managed their own affairs without capitalists.

Labourers have no national distinction and the Russian labour nation is the leader. It may be called the headquarters of the movement for the emancipation of the labourers of the

world; it is the leader of labourers in their fight against the Imperialists, militarists and capitalists. On this great anniversary day these labourers who have not secured their freedom should walk in the footsteps of the Russian labourers.

Labourers, it is pitiful to think that you are under the oppression of the foreign imperialists, militarists and capitalists. Your working hours are long and your wages are small. You cannot hold a meeting, you have no freedom of speech and publication.

You are in the same position as if you were in the 18th hell (the nethermost pit in the Chinese conception of Hades) How are we to free ourselves? The only way is to organize a strong labour union, join the Communist Party, arm ourselves and overthrow the militarists and imperialists.

RED FAMILY RULE

Canton, Nov. 12.

Not party rule but family rule is the system of Kuomintang administration advised by the Soviet Commission to South China. It has advised the making of four or five families the ruling factors in Canton, according to reports from various sources.

The late Dr. Sun Yat-sen's family is now virtually in control of the economic side of the Kuomintang administration. Mr. Sun Fo, son of the doctor, has just been made Minister of Communications in addition to his post of Commissioner of Reconstruction. Mr. Vincent Chen, a brother-in-law of Mr. Sun, is head of the Canton Telephone Exchange, and Dr. Tai En-sai, another son-in-law of the leader, director-general of the Kuangtung Conservancy Board. Madame Sun's brother, Mr. T. V. Soong, is Minister of Finance and local Commissioner of Finance, while Mr. L. C. Li, a godson, is Commissioner of Industry.

Mr. George Hsu Chien is the new Minister of Justice of the Kuomintang, while his elder brother is Commissioner of Justice of Kuangtung.

In addition to these two families, that of the late Mr. Liao Chung-hoi is prominently identified in the persons of Mrs. Liao and Mr. Kam Nei-kuong, her future-son-in-law.—Reuter.

POSTAL EMPLOYEES STRIKE

Wuchang, Nov. 26.

The inhabitants of Wuchang have been without letters and papers for the last three days owing to a postal strike. The Post Office employees have formulated a number of demands, among which the following are the most important:—

(1) That their pay be changed from the dollar to the tael basis.

(2) An eight hour day.

(3) The dismissal of two postal officials, whom they dub as oppressors and traitors. This accusation arises apparently out of certain adverse criticisms made of several employees.

(4) That they be paid 14 months wages for a year's work. The point of this demand is somewhat obscure, but it is probably on account of the fact that there is a great increase of work during the two months during which business settlements are made.

(5) That any employee, who during three years serves without absence, shall be given a month's wages as a bonus.

(6) That the postal employees be allowed to have their own union and that no employee, elected to an official position in the union, shall be removed to another district by the authorities during his term of office.

RED APOSTLES IN SZECHUAN

Shanghai, Nov. 27.

Reports continue to come in to local mission offices regarding the anxiety felt in certain parts of Szechuan by mission workers in that province. From these reports, however, it can be ascertained that only a few cities are the focal points for anti-foreign and anti-Christian feeling and that the great mass of people are not unfriendly except when under the influence of student, Kuomintang and labour union propaganda.

Stormy Petrels

Another evidence of the Bolshevik propaganda occurred towards the end of October in a small city near Chungking, where a Kuomintang lecturer before a Government school audience declared that there were 300 Kuomintang agents visiting all the cities around the province. Besides lecturing in schools and before public assemblies, these agents have daily private guests who are converted to the cause and sent out to spread disturbances it is stated.



PROPAGANDA IN SZECHUAN

The above two cartoons illustrate the kind of propaganda which the Bolsheviks are circulating in Szechuan to provoke anti-British and anti-Christian passion. It will be noticed that the cartoons are intended to catch the eye of the simple farmer and countryman. The general attack on missionaries here revealed is particularly noteworthy.

The upper picture shows the missionary body in China "eating the hearts and brains of the Chinese people," while the dog attacks the "real representative" Chinese. The inscriptions read:—

(Top) "Strike and Kill this Cruel Dog to Death."

(Behind the missionary) Pastor (or Priest).

(Below the plate of eatables) Brains, bones, etc., of Chinese people.

(The Dog) Chinese Christians.

(The man waving the two sticks) The Chinese people.

In the lower drawing Great Britain is represented as supporting Marshal Wu Pei-fu in his fight against the National Citizens' Revolutionary Army (meaning both the Kuominchun and the Cantonese forces). The following are the inscriptions:—

(Behind the foreigner) Representative of British Imperialism.

(The man holding a pistol) Wu Pei-fu.

(The two men carrying a banner and holding a rifle and bayonet whilst in a crouching position) The National Citizens' Revolutionary Forces.

(In the centre) The British People, seeing and knowing that their running dog, Wu Pei-fu, is soon going to be defeated and annihilated by the National Citizens' Army, committed a horrible outrage at Wanhhsien (Szechuan) and at Chenglingchi, Hupeh (near Yochow) on the innocent Chinese people in order to preserve permanently and to the best of their ability the power and the influence of their running dog (meaning Wu Pei-fu).

BOLSHEVIST TALKS AND TACTICS IN KIANGSI

Kiukiang, Dec. 4.

The very day after the Southern troops entered Kiukiang posters began to appear on the walls and now every blank space is plastered with them. The majority of these posters are purely communistic, such as "Down with the Capitalists," "The National Army is the Workers' Army," "Down with the Imperialists," "Workmen Unite," etc., etc. There are also some large picture posters of a distinctly Russian technique. One represents a Snowman labelled "Imperialist" melting in the sun. Another represents Wu Pei-fu, a football, kicked out of goal by an enormous goal-keeper, the People's Army. Yet another shows Wu Pei-fu with a blood-stained knife striking down a student and a workman, and a villainous-looking fellow labelled "Englishman" holding up a spare knife for Wu Pei-fu to use. Except for some student scribbles this is the only definitely anti-British poster which has come to the writer's notice.

The newspapers are more outspoken. The following leader is taken from the issue of December 3 of the "Min Kuo Hsin Pao," the local paper with the largest circulation:—

"Beat Down The British Imperialist by Means of Breaking off Economical Interchange."

What is Imperialism? Where does it come from? We should know its history and cause. As we are aware community is progressive. It advanced from prehistorical period to the period of pasturage, and to the time of feudalism. From that time onward the organization of communities became complicated. There came the exchange of things and trade. At the same time there came the economical organization which gave rise to capitalism. With the concentration of capital the producing power has been ever on the increase and the capital has been concentrated in the hands of few persons.

Manipular work in families advanced to machinery work in factories. So the producing power has been increased several thousand times. Owing to the excess of products there has been a panic in economic. Those countries where industries are greatly developed are forced to open markets elsewhere, because they cannot sell their goods in their own countries. In consequence of this competition, each country has to have a large army and colonies. After they have got the supreme power they practice their economical aggressive policy. Such nations, possessing great capital, use this power to oppress the weak people in the world. This is called "Imperialism." In short, the cause of "Imperialism" is economic.

In industry, China is behind all nations of the world and at the same time she, by her fertile soil and natural riches, has attracted all Imperialists. They have availed themselves of the downfall of the Tsing dynasty to come to China. Through the Opium War, the War of the Alliance of Britain and France, the China-Japan War and the War of the Disturbance of the Eight Powers, China invariably failed in diplomatic affairs in every battle. On each failure there occurred unequal treaties. And so, many unequal treaties have been formed owing to successive failures. This is the result of military aggression. By means of political power they exercised economical aggression. They then held the right of taxation of our Customs, they dug mines, they built railways and established firms. Besides this they sent their navies and their armies to our inland places, seizing control of our economical and political affairs and causing the bankruptcy of our education and industry. Our people have difficulty now in earning a living. This can be proved, for example, by the advance in prices in the last few years. If we allow this to continue not only

will the country be ruined but the yellow race will diminish. Let us consider how poisonous is this imperialistic aggression!

So now, to save China, we must beat down the Imperialists. The way to do this is in the same way as the Imperialists have aggressed us. As we understand how Imperialism arose and its aggressive economy, we can trace the way to defeat it. Their plan is based on importing goods to China and exporting raw materials. In order to oppose their aggression therefore we must boycott their imports and their exports. This is the only plan. Cut off their economy and that will be the death of the imperialists.

The British Imperialists with their poisonous aggression have obtained great power along the Yangtze Valley. Further their army and navy are always murdering Chinese in interior places, viz.—the tragedies at Nanking Road, Shanghai, and Shaki Road, Canton. Wahnsien was fired on by their gunboats. Yesterday they fired with their rifles to show their bravery in the Tai-koo compound at Kiukiang. Their weakness cannot be reckoned in figures. Our port of Kiukiang is the chief port along the Yangtze and it has been oppressed by the economical aggression of the British. If we want to rid our necks of the yoke, and to save our fatherland from ruin, we have to break off economic intercourse. Let us gather together and push out the British Imperialists. Beat down their economical aggression, their poisonous policy and cry out loudly—

Beat down British Imperialism;
Beat down all Imperialists;
Break off economic intercourse with Britain;

Long live the Revolution."

The reference towards the end of the article to "bravery in the compound," presumably refers to the Miniature Rifle Range, where the Kiukiang Defence Force and H. M. S. Wivern have been shooting off matches.

The Chinese Idea of Imperialism

It must be remembered that in the Chinese meaning of the term Imperialism and our meaning of Imperialism there is a fundamental difference, which has been cleverly exploited by the Bolsheviks. The translation of the Chinese term is "Imperial Policy." Again the term "Policy" in Chinese is not passive, but includes movement or force to attain that policy, so that the best way of translating the term is "Imperialistic Aggression." Thus when the Chinese are using the term anti-imperialist they are under the impression that they are opposing the aggression of China by the big Powers. This matter has been too little understood by foreigners.

Russian Advice and Equipment

The Southern troops have been accompanied by a number of Russians. They appear for the most part to be political advisers and do not choose to show themselves in the Concessions. The only Russians actually seen in the Concession have been the pilot and mechanic of a Russian hydroplane which took shelter in the creek.

The best part of the equipment is the cap, these nearly all appearing new and of a distinctly Russian pattern. Many of the officers display uniforms, breeches and boots of a Russian cut and they all wear Sam Brown belts and carry whips, though where their horses are heaven only knows. The troops are accompanied by civilian Commissioners who rank equally with the officers.

The Forming of Unions

All workmen have been advised to form unions, but the arrangements were not really organized until a Committee came down from Hankow about a week ago. The Barbers' Assistants and the Tailors' Assistants, who have been organized

for some years, have already struck for higher wages. No doubt there will be further strikes as more Unions are organized. As Kiukiang is a small place, it is not possible to organize large Unions and the workers, realizing the weakness of small Unions, have in some cases hesitated to join up. However, they have been assured of the assistance of the Central Committee should they have trouble with their employers.

A case of this sort occurred yesterday. The two employees of a small food shop decided to join a Union. When their master heard of it he dismissed them. They reported the matter to the Central Committee, whereupon the master was hauled before the Committee and finally handed over to the newly appointed Southern magistrate, who imprisoned him. There is even to be an Amahs' Union. (By amah is meant the female servant kept in better-class Chinese households.) Up to the present the labour troubles have only affected Chinese employers, but there is no doubt that attempts also will be made to tamper with the employees of foreigners. It may be stated with confidence that the foreign employees, whether in office or in house, only wish to be left alone, and are quite satisfied with their present condition.

Deliberate Aim at the Church

The news from the interior of the province is not encouraging. The Roman Catholic Mission reports that nearly all the Mission properties have been occupied by the Southern troops. In several places the churches are used as stables. At Nanchang the church is used for Communist meetings at which Russian orators have spoken. At Tean, where the church fathers were particularly friendly with the local gentry, the latter on the arrival of the Southern troops, hearing that they wished to occupy the church property, offered to find larger and more convenient Chinese premises elsewhere for the use of the troops. Their officers, however, refused, stating that they had definite instructions to make a point of occupying church property.

The same story is heard from the Protestant missions. Everywhere their properties are being seized and they are not even allowed to enter their own houses. The difference in the feeling now and at the time of the Boxer Rising is that then it was the country people who were hostile and the officials friendly (in Kiangsi). Now everywhere the country people still seem friendly, but the Southern soldiers, especially the officers, are rabidly hostile.

NOTORIOUS TROUBLE-MAKERS

Shanghai, Dec. 4.

In a leading article of November 25 dealing with Chinese affairs, "Russia," the Shanghai Russian paper, says:—

"We do not know whether or not it is known to the British authorities and to the Settlement administration that a few days ago General Sheliavin, who has sold himself to Bolsheviks, arrived in Shanghai. General Sheliavin is replacing Guschin here, and the object of his visit is to organize Shanghai against the day of the Canton armies' advance to the north and west, and to direct a rising in favour of those individuals, who now reside in a former Russian Consulate's building, hoisting a red duster over it.

"In company with Sheliavin arrived another man, well known to us, Krakovetzky, the former artillery officer and political convict. These two Soviet guardian-angels have established their headquarters in Shanghai. With the same commission came the well-known Shadrin. At present the Red staff is busy organizing the forces at its disposal to enable themselves to seize the city at the proper moment. In support of the local revolutionary rabble a large number of Chinese gentlemen have arrived in Shanghai from Canton, who will serve as the striking units in case of success. The well-timed arrest of Colonel Guschin some time ago spoiled the game of the Soviet Consul, and we should read with much satisfaction that the like had befallen Sheliavin and Krakovetzky."

THE STRIKE EPIDEMIC IN CHANGSHA

Shanghai, Dec. 4.

According to advices from Changsha, strikes and demonstrations have been prevailing there and they have of late reached a climax, the participants in the demonstration daily numbering more than 20,000, says a Hankow telegram of yesterday's date.

A huge demonstration was staged in Changsha on the 1st instant by the Federation of Peasant and Labour Unions at Hupeh (? Hunan) Province and aroused enthusiasm among the proletariat, and at night there was a lantern procession, adds the message.

According to the same telegram, the association of employees of foreigners of Changsha has addressed letters to foreign residents, demanding improved treatment, but so far they have not yet gone on a strike. —Toho.

BORODIN HARANGUES HIS MOB

Hankow, Dec. 12.

The largest concourse in the history of Hankow, estimated at 300,000, attended a mass meeting in the native city yesterday at which Comrade Borodin, Mrs. Sun Yatsen, Mr. Hsu Chien, Mr. Eugene Chen, Mr. Sun Fo and General Tang Seng-chi were among the notable persons present.

Many speeches were made, Comrade Borodin haranguing the crowd at great length. The Russian reminded his Chinese "comrades" that the revolution was only half finished and a "very great task is still before us—the unification of the whole country under one revolutionary Government." The greatest problems before the Nationalist Government at present, he said, were the placing of China's finances on a sound basis, improving the economic condition of the people and abolishing "unequal" treaties. "The unequal treaties," the Russian went on, "which constitute a charter of slavery, came down from a corrupt and prostituted dynasty. We have inherited this charter. How will we destroy it? Comrades, there is only one way. The people must unite with the Nationalist Government, which will not allow itself to be deluded by the sweet words of the Imperialists. The Nationalists were not fooled at Canton and will not be fooled at Wu-Han.

"Therefore, comrades, I call upon you to support the Government in the following projects: re-establishing the country's finances, bringing back Chinese capital from foreign banks and institutions, solving

amicably and justly the country's labour problems, and finally, comrades, to support the Government, making Wu-Han's case a test case which will show whether the revolution is a success or a failure. Let us maintain discipline and unity and help to bring about the abolition of the charter of China's poverty, namely, the unequal treaties."

The Soviet adviser concluded by thanking the revolutionary army for their "faithfulness and bravery" and the people of Wu-Han for their "wonderful revolutionary spirit."

HANKOW SERVANTS' DEMANDS

Hankow, Dec. 17.

The Servants' Union to-day issued pamphlets containing the demands they intend to present to the British Consul. These follow:

1.—Members cannot be dismissed or in any way oppressed. Should employers have cause for complaint they must inform the Union, who will deal with the matter.

2.—Wages must be increased as per a scale issued by the Political Bureau. They must be increased yearly and a month's wages must be given in Chinese New Year.

3.—The Union shall superintend members' behaviour and the Union's inspectors shall visit at their discretion the premises in which members are employed.

4.—Employers must provide medical attention except in cases of venereal disease.

5.—Three weeks' holiday must be given yearly or a month's pay instead.

6.—Vacancies as they occur must be filled by the Union.

A limit of seven days is given for acceding to the demands.

The increases demanded range from about 10 per cent. in the case of highly-paid members to 100 per cent. in the case of lowly-paid ones.

SPOILS FOR THE AGITATORS

Dec. 18.

Regarding the numerous demands for increases in wages, it is stated that the whole of the first month's increase goes to the union in question and 10 per cent. of the succeeding months' extra pay. It is understood that the union pays over a large portion, variously estimated at between 50 and 90 per cent. of this, to the Political Bureau.

The latter, it might be mentioned, is the mainspring of the Southern movement, in which it exercises great power. Its membership comprises heads of the Government and of the Kuomintang. At present it is more or less dominated by extremists.—Reuter.

EXCUSE FOR STRIKES AND DEMANDS

How Labour is Used to "Keep the Pot" Boiling

Hankow, Dec. 24.

Professional propagandists did not miss the opportunity to instigate anti-British feeling among the populace and they are so active that more or less inconvenience is being felt in the Concession. Pickets are checking the foodstuffs to be taken in the Concession. It is understood that a general strike will be commenced to-morrow for the purpose of obtaining an increase of wages.

The authorities here, headed by General Ho Yao-tse, appear unable to deal with the situation, which is becoming acute. Unceasing labour

trouble, tyranny of pickets and domination of workmen are responsible for this.

Hankow, Dec. 29.

The Nationalist News Agency issues the following:—

"That a conference of representatives of the Postal Workers' Unions of all the provinces under their control has been called under the auspices of the Nationalist Government of the Kuomintang Party for Hankow for a date in the latter part of January became known here to-day.

"The purpose of the parley is to thresh out the demands of the workers throughout the territory and work out a uniform set of demands for presentation to the postal authorities.

"The Nationalist territory has been disturbed lately by threats of strikes of postal workers in various cities. The latest is in Changsha, where a deadlock has been reached between the workers and the Postal Commissioner.

"The Nationalist Government wishes to get to the bottom of the difficulties and plan a comprehensive, uniform scheme to cover all the workers. Invitations to the conference require that until the conference reaches a decision no strikes shall be called anywhere.

"Representatives of the unions of Kuangtung, Kuangsi, Fukien, Hunan, Kiangsi, Hupeh and Shanghai have been asked to attend."—Reuter.

Shanghai, Dec. 31.

The most optimistic group of labourers whom we have yet heard of made their appearance in Chapei about 7 o'clock Monday morning. They were an "army" of 30 ex-mill workers of the Japanese mills, led by a "brave" of the same rank.

The first anyone knew of the new military organization, if it may be called such, was when these men, armed with wooden rifles and clothed in the rags of the typical unemployed mill-hand, marched to a vacant lot at Chukawan and commenced to drill. For two hours and a half the men went through all the motions of strenuous exercise, doing everything from the goose step up.

At 9.30 the leader apparently thought that his men had done enough road work for a commencement and gave the order to "fall out," and commenced a lecture in which he told them to urge all their friends and colleagues to join the new organization and participate in the exercise in order that they might be more able to fight the militarists and imperialists when the time was ripe.

The time of the next drill has not yet been announced.

Shanghai, Dec. 31.

The police are in possession of a handbill issued by the Union of Chung Hwa Book Co.'s employees, stating in part:—

"We have received an order from the Shanghai General Labour Union and the Citizens' Association, instructing us to be ready to declare a general strike in order to show our opposition to the terrible oppression we have suffered under Sun Chuan-fang and the invasion of Kiangsu by the Fengtien army. Local merchants and students will also join us in the strike. Let us be ready to join the general strike as soon as the order is given."

Meanwhile, there is little improvement in the local industrial situation. The pawnbrokers' and various other 'strikes' remain unsettled and others have broken out. Three hundred operatives of the Tsung Hwa Silk Weaving Co., a Chinese concern on the north bank of the Soochow Creek, have struck

in order to show their sympathy with one of their number who was fined 5 cents for slackness and disobedience. They now have presented a long list of demands which have no connexion with the original quarrel.

About 3,000 employees in general goods stores in the Settlement, the French Concession and Chinese territory also have struck to enforce a demand for higher wages.

SORROW OVER FICTITIOUS VICTIMS

Canton, Jan. 12.

The public opinion here is aroused by the recent Hankow incident, and declarations and circular telegrams are being issued by various public bodies, while various societies are being formed to support the Hankow incident. They are now planning to stage a huge demonstration and have petitioned the Provincial Government for issuance of an ordinance of the Peace Preservation Bureau ordering the citizens to hoist flags at half mast on the 15th and simultaneously to offer silent prayers for five minutes at noon the same day in order to express condolences to the victims of the Hankow incident.

"OPPRESSED" HINDUS PARADE

Hankow, Jan. 13.

An office has been opened for the reception and registration of the names of all Hindus, Koreans, Annamites, etc., by the "Oppressed Peoples' Brotherhood Friendly Society."

Sixteen Hindus registered yesterday, of which number 11 have been given appointments in the Propaganda Section of the Kuomintang. The other five are on the waiting-list.

These Hindus formed a procession through the Concession this afternoon, carrying the Nationalist flag and yelling slogans.—Reuter.

THE POSTER MANIA

Kiukiang, Jan. 16.

One would have thought that it would be impossible to find use for any more posters in the Concession, as every available inch of space has already been covered. But by great good fortune there was wind and rain on Friday night and a few of the older posters were washed out. Great joy amongst the billposting brigade! This morning they had a fresh opportunity to show what they could readily do. The following are translations of some of the posters pasted up in the Concession on January 15, 1927, some 40 hours after Mr. Eugene Chen, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Chinese Revolutionary Government, had issued instructions that all posters in the Concession were to be taken down and no more new ones put up:—

"Beat down the British Imperialists"

"Take back the British Concession"

"Cancel ex-territoriality"

"Cancel the British right to navigate inland waters"

"Cancel unequal treaties"

"Oppose the British gunboat policy"

"Take back the Customs"

DRIVING THE POOR FROM WORK

Hankow, Jan. 18.

Three British cotton press packing companies at Hankow, which hitherto have kept their plants operating in order to avoid throwing

on the street thousands of casual workers, have now been drawn into the industrial maelstrom, the union of half-skilled workers operating the presses having presented a series of extravagant demands, including a claim for ten per cent. of the profits.

Pickets took charge of the godowns this morning but the carrying coolies continued to handle the bales of raw cotton and a proportion of the cotton-pickers, who include many hundreds of women and girls, insisted on remaining at work.

The matter was taken up with the Commissioner for Foreign Affairs, who sent a representative to confer with officials of the union.

It is estimated that in the event of the establishments closing down at least 10,000 persons, many belonging to the poorest classes, will be deprived of employment.—Reuter.

THE COMMUNIST CENSORSHIP

Shanghai, Jan. 19.

The following is a censored extract of a message from Reuter's Hankow correspondent, dated January 13:—

The propaganda section is preparing an entertainment at the New World to take place on January 15 illustrative of the "Overthrow of British."

TCHEKA FORMED IN HANKOW

Shanghai, Jan. 22.

It is confirmed from Hankow that the Hankow local Kuomintang proposed, and the Central Executive Committee of the party has authorized, the organization of a Tcheka, modelled after the Russian prototype. Even the Russian name is retained, the Chinese characters not being a translation but a transliteration of the word.

The activities of the Tcheka are at first to be limited to purging the Kuomintang of anti-Russian elements. Five groups of persons are interdicted. Firstly, those who attended the Kuomintang Conference in the Western Hills outside of Peking, when the principles generally referred to as Sunyatzenism were first promulgated as the principles of the party. Secondly, persons who are associated with the Kuomintang headquarters at 44 Route Vallon, Shanghai, generally referred to as the Right Wing of the Party. Thirdly, those who are members of the Sunyatzenism Society. This organization was founded by Mr. Sun Fo, before he became a Communist and when he hoped to develop a strong nationalist movement to preserve the Kuomintang to the principles his father advocated and to keep out Russian and Communistic influences. Fourthly, members of the Nationalism Society, which is an intensely nationalistic organization, opposed to all foreign influences, including Russian influences. Finally, reactionaries.

Already there is an exodus of members of these various organizations from Hankow, for the terrorism of the Tcheka is already making itself felt and is widening the breach between members of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China.

SAMPLES OF BOLSHEVIK PROPAGANDA

Chinese Trained by Russians for the Work

Peking, Jan. 22.

The vernacular papers state that the Soviet authorities at Chita have trained 300 Chinese in communism

and sent them to China for propaganda purposes. The papers add that the *Chargé d'Affaires* in Moscow is protesting to the Soviet in connexion with the matter.—Reuter.

Anti-Foreign Orators at Canton

Hongkong, Jan. 23.

A message from Shameen states that young Chinese girls yesterday addressed crowds at streets corners, expounding anti-foreign and Bolshevik doctrines, while small bands of soldiers walked on the streets displaying anti-foreign banners.

The message adds that there is a definite change in the aspect of the city, the demeanour of the populace gradually becoming worse.

It is also reported from Shameen that five Chinese soldiers yesterday morning harangued Customs employees within the examination shed, but dispersed when the European in charge threatened to lock the gates.—Reuter.

At Ningpo

Following are translations from the Chinese newspapers at Ningpo:

The Ningpo Citizens' Association received a letter from the Ningpo Kuomintang Executive Committee yesterday stating:—

British soldiers have landed on Chinese territory, and Fengtien troops have crossed the river. The danger to our people's revolution becomes greater and greater. The final success depends upon whether our people will use their full efforts to support the people's government, and so to strengthen the front revolutionary force, so as completely to root out British Imperialism and its "running dog," Fengtien militarism. To this end we have decided on a third committee meeting in order to unite all classes in Ningpo, and make effective propaganda for Anti-British and Anti-Fengtien work, and we have also decided to call a citizens' mass meeting at the drill ground at 1 p.m., March 8, for demonstration. Please summon the different committees to form another committee for preparing various things. As the future prospects of the revolution depend on this, please act accordingly.

A Hangchow Anti-British and Anti-Fengtien Society has been formed, and circular telegrams have been sent to various districts to do the same.

O! Ningpo citizens, this may be said the last day of the British Imperialists. The Kuomintang flags are now flying in our Ningpo, which is never dreamed of by them. When we see the Kuomintang flags, we can at once recollect the Hankow case, again the Wansien slaughter, and again the "May 30" tragedy of two years ago. O! Ningpo citizens, by whom these things were done? Is it not by the blue-eye and yellow-hair British Imperialists? O! so many of our beloved brethren were killed; our financial and political powers were robbed away, and shameless militarists were induced to oppress our people. By whom these things were done? Is it not by the blue-eye and yellow-hair British Imperialists? O! our beloved Ningpo citizens, we must revenge for these brethren sacrificed before them. This is the right time. We must all unite and organize together and attack these pitiless British Imperialists. We must take over the financial and political powers into our own hands. We must deprive all their influence in China, and overthrow their running-dog militarists. Then we will have a day of freedom. O! Ningpo people, let us tell you: The Anti-British Society, which could not exist for being oppressed last year, now revive under the Kuomintang flag. We will still do the same work as last year of severing the financial relations. We will make them absolutely unable to have a footing in China. O! people, all arise; we can express our indignation now. We adopt four slogans, which we hope all will shout loudly:—

(1) Sever financial relations with British.

- (2) Overthrow British Imperialism.
- (3) All Ningpo Citizens stand under the anti-British flag.
- (4) Revenge for these brethren who died.

A foreigner who has just arrived at Shanghai from Hangchow—one who normally travels throughout the country districts—gives two striking instances of what is being posted on the hoardings in these places and otherwise circulated.

The most flagrant of these posters states something to this effect:—"Jesus Christ was a British subject. He was born in Jerusalem, which is in a British protected country." Thus the attempt is made to couple the anti-Christian with the anti-British movement.

A second one is a copy of a well-known poster used by the Bolsheviks. It is to the following effect:—"Jesus Christ died 2,000 years ago. Communism is still alive. Why worship anything dead?"

BUKHARIN BOASTS OF SUCCESS IN CHINA

London, Jan. 27.

The naivete of the Soviets is really astonishing. On the one hand they boast of the success of their "harassing tactics" against this country, pointing to China and to the strikes as proof of their activities and victories, whilst on the other they accuse Britain of bellicose preparations and intentions.

The verbatim report of a lengthy speech made by Bukharin at Moscow contains many interesting points:—

"For it is impossible for them not to notice the immense influence exercised by the U. S. S. R. in the Chinese Revolution and the development of the other movements in the East.

"One of the most important factors in intensifying international class war is our economic achievement, which has concluded the reconstruction period and is thus able to aid all revolutionary forces. This new phase in the development of our Revolution is taking place at a time when another world-wide event is coming to the fore. I am alluding to the Chinese Revolution, about which every one of us is reading in the papers and with beating heart following its extension. The British have sent cruisers and sailors to China, they have used their armed forces to throw over the Canton Government, but to-day the whole of Europe can see how the Chinese masses are driving the Englishmen out of China and even out of the 'holy' concessions.... We are convinced that the 400 million Chinese will ultimately sweep away all the Imperialists."

LIES AND DEMANDS

Shanghai, Feb. 5.

A visitor from Canton last Thursday gave an interesting description of the state of affairs in the southern city.

The Communist and Labour parties are completely out of hand and far beyond control. In every conceivable way the malecontents are endeavouring to provoke an incident and an attack on Shameen.

The Nationalist papers are leading the way and every day they print the most blood-curdling and totally untrue news items from Hankow. They accepted the first news that one Chinese and one foreigner were killed in the troubles in the river port, but their imagination since then has run riot and now they publish accounts of 400

innocent Chinese slaughtered by the British. The Government has prohibited all processions and for some days there were none, but last week, on the anniversary of the death of Lenin, the mob could not be restrained and a huge procession paraded the streets. The Government managed to preserve some semblance of order, but all through the city countless street orators held forth unchecked, telling ludicrously barbaric stories of the foreigners and exhibiting disgraceful pictures in proof.

Though incitement in many forms occurs every day, Shameen so far has been quiet.

The following is from a report written for the "China Medical Journal" by Dr. J. L. Maxwell on conditions in the J. G. Kerr Hospital for the insane in Canton, where there are more than 400 patients:—

"The difficulties are essentially connected with the local Labour Union, to which some of the hospital attendants belong. The demands of this Union are, as regards the possibility of carrying on efficient hospital work go, absolutely preposterous. Among these the most startling are the following:—

"1.—The employees must have freedom to talk, to publish any matter desired, and to strike.

"2.—A hospital employee may not be reprimanded, his work changed, or be discharged without the consent of the Union.

"3.—A hospital can only engage an employee recommended by the Union.

"5, 11, 12, 16—Minimum wage of an employee must be \$15 a month with board, double wages for the last month of the year and two suits of clothes each summer and two each winter. There must be an increase of wages each year and, in addition to this, special demands for an increase must be granted.

"17.—On public holidays and national parade days hospital employees must be given double wages if they remain at work.

"10.—Hospitals must help with money to open workmen's schools for the benefit of the employees, but may not require any to study who are disinclined to do so."

MORE "LEGITIMATE ASPIRATIONS"

(In explanation of the demands given below it must be told that a coolie who attempted to assault a foreign woman was rapped over the head with a stick. The Port Doctor who examined him at once found nothing but a slight contusion. This is the "massacre".)

Kiukiang, Feb. 1.

The order has gone out that no more posters are to be put up in the Concession. But, of course, banners and strips of cloth do not come under the designation of "poster." Yesterday a number of banners were put up. The one near the Customs House is in English and reads as follows:—

"THE ARTICLES SUGGESTED BY THE KIUKIANG CITIZENS' ANTI-BRITISH DEMONSTRATION

1. The British Government must surrender the chief culprits to our Nationalistic Government and they must be punished by our Nationalistic Government.
2. The British Consul must express to our Nationalistic Government that he is very regretful for the Kiukiang massacre.
3. The British Government must console and cherish the killed worker with 500 lb. (exact copy of the wording).

4. We shall take over the charge of the British Concession and Customs House.
5. We shall drive away the Postal Commissioner, the Commissioner of Customs and the British gunboats.
6. We shall forbid the sailing of the British steamers in the inland waters."

PAINTING THE LILY RED

Hankow, Feb. 12.

The Nationalist News Agency issues the following:—

"Mme. Sun Yat-sen's Political Training School for Women was dedicated here to-day. Speeches were made by all the Ministers of the Nationalist Government, Mme. Sun Yat-sen and others. The school will train a selected group of 100 students in six month courses in Kuomintang history and revolutionary technique. There will be courses for women's work of all kinds on behalf of the Nationalist revolutionary movement."—Reuter's Pacific Service.

BORODIN THE BOSS

Mukden, Feb. 6.

In the meantime, your correspondent has secured interesting and significant information from Russian sources, not necessarily "white," in regard to Gen. Galen and Comrade Borodin's activities. The former, being a military expert of no mean order, was all along opposed to advancing hundreds of miles from home without making sure of the rear's protection and, latterly, declined to have anything to do with the business of antagonizing this or that Power having interests along the Yangtze and in all regions occupied by the Nationalists. Gen. Galen argued that it was difficult enough to fight against the over-accumulating Northerners without dragging in possible or probable outside interference.

The irrepressible Borodin, however, would have no half-measures introduced and was absolutely for casting all at one stroke. Being more of a talker than the General, he persuaded the Southerners that now or never was the time to eliminate the dirty Imperialists, albeit one by one. Gen. Galen's "nervous break-down" at Hankow is not disconnected with a desire to get back to Moscow while the getting is good. Comrade Borodin is now very much the wire-puller, having full powers from the Soviet Foreign Commissariat.

SOVIET PLOT IN MANCHURIA EXPOSED

(In Northern Manchuria, where there are large colonies of Russians, "White" and "Red", Soviet intrigue is a commonplace. The mass of news material available is therefore great, but has almost no bearing upon the vital situation in Central China. The following dramatic story is reproduced, therefore, simply to show that the Russians have not focussed all their energies upon Borodin's sphere of influence.)

Harbin, Jan. 7.

So rapid was the drama that was enacted this week in Harbin that most people can hardly believe that the well-known and prominent Yangcho has been summarily tried and executed for high treason. So far the local press have not been permitted to print anything except the bare facts that the powerful Vice-President of the Revision Committee of the Chinese

Eastern Railway was arrested on Monday, January 3, tried by a military court, found guilty and shot on the evening of Tuesday, January 4, for having acted contrary to the laws to the extent of receiving the highest penalty the Courts could award. But gradually the facts of the case are filtering through and there is no doubt that Yangcho was executed for high treason.

Loyalty Doubted

About two years ago there were some doubts as to his loyalty. He was accused of receiving large sums from Soviet Russia, and he was one of those who helped to carry through the Soviet-Mukden Treaty, but his accusers were unable to bring sufficient proof, and thus he remained at his post. He has, however, been watched and enquiries made as to where he got his large capital from, especially so when, in the spring of last year, he launched out into a great cinema venture, building three theatres in Harbin and declaring that he would erect large theatres in Shanghai, Peking and other Chinese towns.

Ceaseless Plotting

All the time he was plotting for the overthrow of the Chang Tso-lin Government, making himself popular in all directions, mixing with both Russian and foreign society, leading great charity functions, giving banquets to Chinese, and making his name known to everybody. And now the whole plot has come to light, owing, it is said, to the cleverness of the Japanese Intelligence Department, who gave their secret information to the great War Lord, the latter immediately despatching a special military envoy to Harbin to find out the whole of the details and get at the truth.

It seems that the intention of the conspirators was to overthrow the government on January 16 and that General Yangcho was to become President of the new Communist Manchurian Republic. Most of the names of the plotters are known to the authorities, but so far only the one man has been arrested and summarily dealt with. However, he was the leader, and probably his execution will break up the entire scheme and many of the plotters will leave Manchuria.

A Dramatic Arrest

Immediately on his arrival in Harbin from Mukden, Yangcho was called by the President of C.E.R. to attend a meeting, and on reaching the latter's house he was confronted by the Civil Administrator, General Chang Huang-hsiang, who asked him whether accusations made against him were true. Yangcho denied the charge, whereupon the Civil Administrator shouted out "Traitor" and at the same moment the members of the military commission, sent by Chang-Tso-lin, entered the room and produced proofs of his guilt. Yangcho was immediately conveyed to the Staff headquarters for trial. Meanwhile the police made a search of Yangcho's magnificent residence and there found much incriminating evidence, including plans for the coup d'etat on January 16. Three great carloads of firearms were taken from the cellars of the house and other hiding places of arms were also discovered, as well as the names of many of the plotters. On the production of such proofs there was nothing for Yangcho to do except to confess his guilt and suffer the consequences. Late in the evening he was driven out to the garbage beds at the back of the

town and there shot, his body being left on the ground all night guarded by soldiers. The next morning a common coffin was sent and his remains deposited in it.

STUDENTS IN CHANGTEH PAID IN ROUBLES

Shanghai, Mar. 21.

A correspondent sends the following with regard to placards with which the Kuomintang, the students and the Labour Unions have lately plastered the streets of Changteh and vicinity:—

In addition to the well-worn ones, such as "Down with Imperialism," "Drive out Foreigners," "Away with the British," "Down with the Church," "Abolish Unequal Treaties," "Seize the Concessions," "Avenge the Blood of our Brothers," "China for the Chinese," etc., they have lately had up, especially in connexion with their hilarious celebration of the anniversary of the Soviet Revolution, a lot of posters which show beyond a doubt their connexion with the Russian Reds. Here are a few of them:—

"Long Live Communism," "Communism is the Party of the Proletariat," "Communism is the Hope of China," "Down with the Opponents of the Reds," "The Third International is the Hope of the Future," "Foster the Third International," "Foster the Soviet Principles," "Get Recruits for the Communist Party," "Foster the Mother Country of the Proletariat Class—Soviet Russia," "China and Russia are One," "Labourers and Farmers Unite in Communism," "Abolish Capital," "Away with Encroaching Civilization."

Since our school strike, some of the additional slogans on the posters are:—"Down with the Tyrannical Imperialistic School Principal Chiang Ai-Teh" (E. D. Chapin), "Encourage the Strikers of the Chuin-Teh School," "Close All Christian Schools," "Down with Hypocritical Christianity."

Thus are the people being inflamed for a second Boxer uprising and the authorities do nothing to check all this orgy of hatred and wilful misrepresentation. I said to one man who was putting up these posters:—"Will you tell me what are these unequal treaties you are protesting against?" He frankly replied:—"I don't know." I said:—"No, I thought not. Why not find out what it is you are shouting about?" Not one in ten has any intelligent conception of what it is all about, but they follow these paid Bolshevik agents like a flock of sheep. I have learned that the pay of these paid propagandists (some of them, I am sorry to say, are former students of my own) is fixed in Russian roubles, paid, of course, in Chinese money, but the amount fixed in roubles shows clearly enough from whence all this campaign against all foreigners, except Russian Bolsheviks, is financed.

It is said that there are now, in Changsha alone, 40 Russian agents acting as advisers, labour union organizers, propagandist leaders, etc. There is an agency here

in Changteh, from which the students draw their funds to finance their propaganda. We hear it said that the farmers never will accept Communism, but the new Farmers' Union, which marched past us yesterday and made a hostile demonstration, put up communistic posters.

A SHRINE TO ST. SUN

Amongst the looted buildings visited in Kiukiang recently was the Municipal Hall. When this was last seen it was filled with refuse and the broken wood-work of chairs and other furniture. Now it has been cleaned up. The stage is fitted up as a sort of altar with a table and two chairs (more loot), over which has been hung a large picture of Sun Yat-sen and several scrolls. In the body of the hall three chairs are set on either side at intervals of a few feet, and on these six chairs are inscribed the titles of the officials who use them. The pillars which support the roof are ornamented with strips of paper bearing the "slogans" so common in this part of China. The hall is now used for meetings at which the will of Sun Yat-sen is read out and bows are made to his picture.



BOMBS AND MAUSERS USED BY CHINESE SOLDIERS IN STREET FIGHTING.

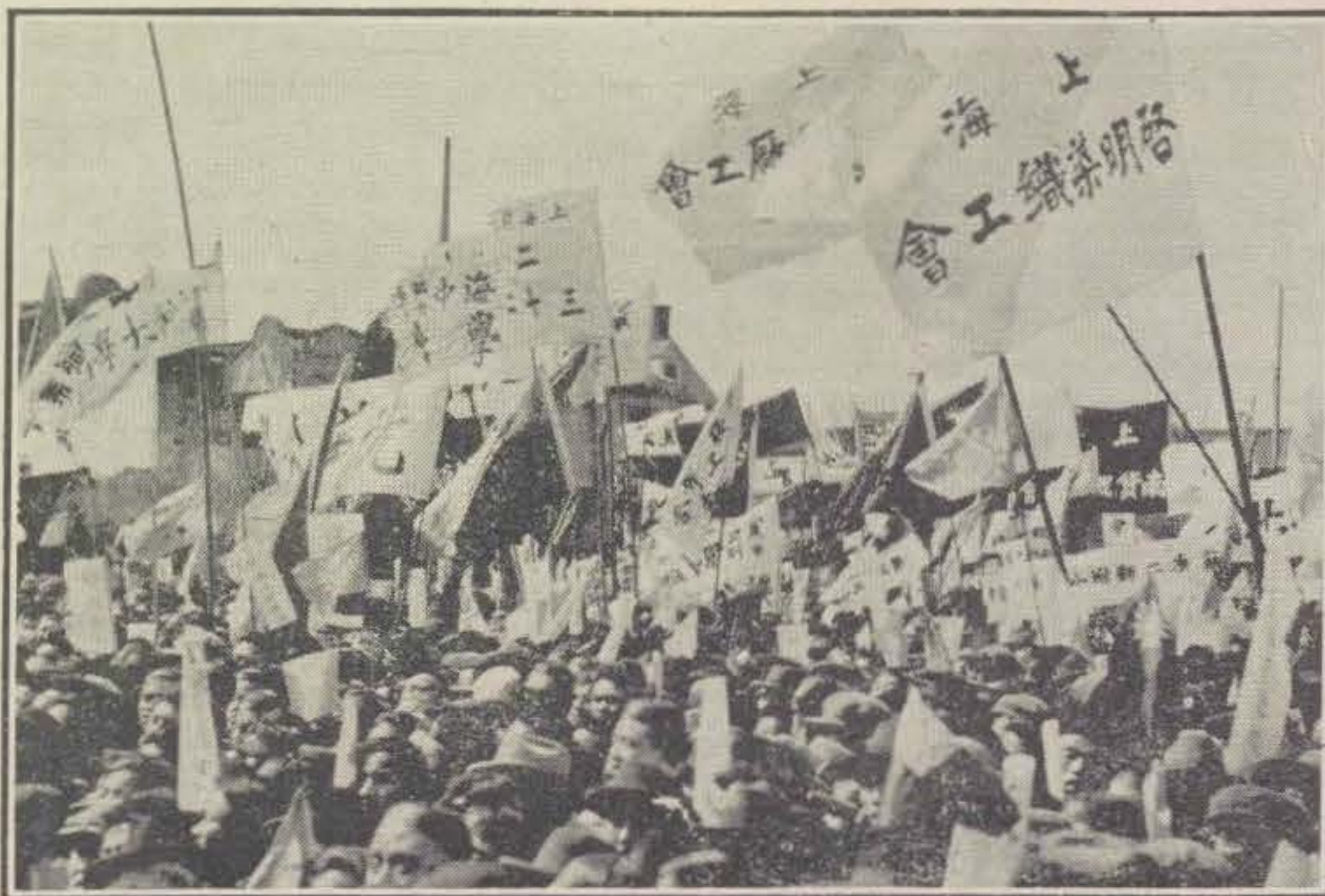


Photo by China Photographic News Agency

DENSE MASS OF LABOURERS AND STUDENTS IN PROCESSION IN THE SHANGHAI NATIVE CITY AFTER ARRIVAL OF SOUTHERN LEADERS

ALIAS BORODIN

The Record of the Supreme Director of Nationalist Foreign Policy

FROM THE LONDON "TIMES"

Jacob Borodin, the Chief Adviser of the Cantonese Government, is the man mentioned in the "Times" of August 30, 1922, as having been sentenced in Glasgow on the 29th, in the name of George Brown, to six months' imprisonment and recommended for deportation. He had pleaded "Guilty" to four contraventions of the Aliens Order.

The Procurator-Fiscal told the Court that Brown, whose alias was given as Borodin, was regarded by the Intelligence Department as a most dangerous person. He was one of the "underground" agents of the Communist International and was sent to foster sedition. It was not known how Brown came to be in the country, but there was no reasonable doubt that he had been smuggled in. He had formerly been here for six weeks, but on this occasion he had only been in Glasgow one day when he was caught. The accused man claimed at the time to be a Yugoslav, and then changed to Mexican and Austrian nationality. Eventually, at the request of the Soviet representative's legal agents, he was deported straight to Petrograd.

His Real Name

Brown, alias Borodin, is in reality Michael Grusenberg, and is possibly of Lettish origin. He was first heard of in connexion with Communist activities in 1919, when he was sent to Spain for Communist propaganda by the Communist International. In 1920 he was in Mexico, where he acquired a national passport, which he used to enter the United States, where he became known to the State Department as a prominent agitator. In 1922 he landed illegally in this country with a mission from the Communist International. His instructions were—(1) to act as adviser to the British Communist Party; (2) to prepare a financial plan for Communist propaganda in this country and to report on the requirements of the movement; and (3) to direct the drawing up of a tactical scheme by the British Communist Party according to instructions from Moscow.

He was instrumental in getting a number of delegates to the Blackpool Conference to institute a minority movement in the Miners' Federation, with a view to affiliation with the Red Labour I.U. He was in touch on this subject with Mr. Cook, the secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain.

KARAKHAN GIVES THE RED PLEDGE

On October 6, 1924, on the occasion of the opening of the new Russian Embassy in Peking, Karakhan said among other things:—

"For there is not a single honest people to-day who do not understand that the Soviet Union is the only unselfish friend of the Chinese people. It is a hard time China is passing through, but in her difficult time she is not alone. The people of the Soviet Union are with her."

"They have responded to the actual misfortune of China by mass expression of brotherly sympathies, and the organization of the Hands off China Society, which hundreds

of thousands of workers and peasants have already joined. What do the woes and sufferings of four hundred millions matter to Imperialism, which is interested only in its selfish gains and rights taken by force? China is trying to stand on her feet, to stand to her full height, but she has not strength yet."

"Let our Red Flag, its hardships, struggle and victory be for the China people, too, a banner of struggle and victory. I say Victory because Imperialism has already entered into the last phase before its death, and the four hundred million Chinese people, together with all the oppressed peoples of the world and with the Soviet Union, are ready, and will as a matter of historical necessity, become the grave-digger of Imperialism."

Fruits of a Policy of Conciliation

How the "Nationalists" Have Lived Up To Their Pledges in South China

The anti-British strike and boycott in South China commenced at the beginning of June, 1925, and persisted until the end of September, 1926, when it was announced by the Canton Government that, in exchange for Great Britain's recognition of the "Nationalist" Government's right to levy certain Customs surtaxes in violation of the Treaties, the boycott would be lifted on the 15th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Republic, October 10, 1926. This announcement closed tiresome conversations extending over many months, characterized on the British side by a policy of "patient conciliation," which tried the good temper of all self-respecting foreigners in China, and, on the Chinese side, by infuriating impertinence. Mr. Eugene Chen, the Foreign Minister of the Canton Government, announced to his people when the agreement was closed that they were supposed to reopen cordially friendly relations with the British. The abominable behaviour of strike pickets and ruffians in and about Canton, immediately subsequent to this announcement, and the endless list of anti-foreign outrages, insults and violations of all rules of international comity in the Yangtze Valley—in Changsha, Hankow, Kiukiang, Nanking and a score of inland cities where isolated missionaries bore the brunt of officially fostered anti-British hatred—have amply shown the worthlessness of Red pledges and guarantees. Here again there is no space for the mass of material at hand, and a few clippings selected at random will have to illustrate our point.

THE PLEDGE THAT WASN'T KEPT

Hongkong, Oct. 7.

In an interview granted to the "Hongkong Daily Press," Mr. Eugene Chen definitely stated that the boycott would be finished at noon on the 10th instant and that such termination would apply to Swatow and Pakhoi. Constructive plans are contemplated to develop Kuangtung with its rich revenue and to clear out all the pirates with the assistance of the British Government. Friendly relations and co-operation between the British and Chinese will be possible in the not distant future. All doubtful points are to be discussed and cleared up.

The Foreign Minister ridiculed the idea that, even though the pickets were withdrawn, the boycott would continue. "The boycott," he said, "will be declared finished on the 10th at noon at a huge demonstration which will be held at the Eastern Parade Ground. The Government are serious about the matter and have full control over the Strike Committee."

THE MOB'S ATTITUDE

Shanghai, Oct. 4.

Attempts to maintain the boycott in Canton persist despite Mr. Eugene Chen's note to Mr. Brennan of arrangements having been made with the Strike Committee to call it off. A Japanese news agency message dated Canton, October 2, tells us that:—

"In spite of the cessation of the anti-British strike recently declared by the Nationalist Government of Canton, we, the Cantonese, as free citizens, must continue to enforce the anti-British Boycott as an expression of local indignation against Great Britain." Such is the determination of the Canton Strike Committee, as revealed in its circular just issued to the various organizations concerned.

LABOUR AND CANTON HOSPITALS

Peking, Oct. 18.

A message from Canton states that the American Hospital for the Insane is threatened with a strike similar to that which led to the closing of the Canton Hospital last spring, a series of unreasonable demands having been presented by the local Labour unions.—Reuter.

PICKETS BREAK FAITH

Canton, Oct. 29.

The British steamers have resumed their day service between Hongkong and Canton, and there is also a night steamer which leaves this port for the southern Colony every second day at the hour of 3 p.m., and all of these boats are allowed to tie up to their wharves on the Canton Bund, yet, on the whole, very little cargo is being moved either way. The explanation is not difficult to find: the boycott is officially off, but unofficially it is decidedly "on." In Hongkong there is seemingly a decided feeling of optimism; but the fact remains that there is still in Canton a decidedly anti-British feeling, and a strong movement aimed to prevent the merchants of this city from buying and selling British manufactures.

During the past week, to the knowledge of your correspondent, several bales of linen goods were seized in a shop on the 18th Street by pickets of one of the local unions. There have not been a great many instances of this kind thus far, but the only reason is that the average merchant is not purchasing new stocks of British goods. That does not by any means indicate that there is not the desire on the part of the merchant to purchase, but simply that he is afraid at this time to disobey the mandates of the radical propagandists.

Hotel employees were some time ago warned not to solicit passengers at the British boats, and not to go to the wharves for the accommodation of their guests. Since then pickets in plain clothes, supposed to be for the most part former employees of the British steamers who left their jobs at the commencement of the strike over a year ago, have during the past few days been stopping all prospective passengers of the British boats.

Yesterday your correspondent started by ricscha for the Fatshan wharf, and a block away his ricscha coolie was accosted by one of the pickets, who laid hold of the shafts and refused to allow the coolie to proceed until the latter, who was equal to the occasion, made it known that the writer was bound for the railroad station and not for the wharf. All other ricschas passing that way were being stopped as well, and forced to take a back street that would take them well

beyond the docks of the British boats.

The pickets are not stopping at simply advising Chinese not to travel by boats of British registration, but have gone so far as to resort to forceful tactics. An old lady attempted to go aboard the Fatshan the day before yesterday, and when it was seen that she was insistent, hands were laid upon her. Some one pushed her through the gate of the wharf, and several pickets followed with the evident intent of doing her bodily injury. A member of the Customs staff who was on the wharf at the time, seeing the plight of the old lady, intervened and was himself made the target of stones thrown by the angry workmen. A Chinese also came to the rescue of the old lady, and was set upon by an angry mob, who attacked him with stones and clubs. This valiant Chinese gentleman was forced to flee for his life, and there is little doubt but that he was shortly thereafter overtaken by his pursuers and beaten most unmercifully. Police protection was given to the Customs officer when he returned from the wharf of the Custom House shortly thereafter, and a stone, thrown by one of the pickets, hit a police officer on the head.

SWATOW SCORNS AGREEMENT

Swatow, Oct. 13.

The tenth of the month is past, and we are still waiting to see whether there is any serious intention on the part of the authorities of bringing the boycott to an end. It is true that the pickets have gone; they had their final parade in the procession on the 10th, rifles and all, and were marched on board ship and sent off to Canton the next day, and it is certainly a pleasure to the eye to see the bund relieved of their objectionable presence; but that in itself does not go very far.

The strike committee is still in existence and at work, proclaiming loudly that the "economic boycott" is by no means at an end, but on the contrary is in process of being extended all over the country, that there has only been a change of method in the substitution for methods of violence (which one is glad to see they now admit) of other methods by which the unslaked indignation of the people will still express itself. And on the

10th the whole port was placarded with bills, "Do not buy British goods; do not travel by British steamers; do not work in British firms; do not go to study in British church schools," and so forth.

FRENCH CONSUL KILLED

Peking, Nov. 2.

Bandits killed M. Robert, French Consul at Lungchow, on October 31, while he was motoring from Lungchow to Langson, Indo-China.

M. Robert was accompanied by M. Cadet, an administrator in the French colonial service.

A gang of bandits or pirates attacked them 25 kilometres from Lungchow (in Kuangsi), whence they had started early in the morning.

The Chinese authorities, hearing of the news, sent a battalion of troops who arrived on the spot at two o'clock in the afternoon. They found Robert's corpse in a grove, pierced by two bullets, one in the head and the other in the stomach.

M. Cadet and the Annamite chauffeur were dragged away by the bandits, but managed to escape and, after 24 hours' exhausting walking in the hills, they arrived safely at the French Consulate at Lungchow on the night of November 1.—Reuter.

Peking, Nov. 8.

The bandits who murdered M. Robert committed another daring assault on M. Cadet, who narrowly escaped death on October 31, when he was returning to Lungchow on November 5 accompanied by two Chinese delegates of the Kuangsi Government, who with him had attended M. Robert's funeral at Hanoi.

They were escorted by two lorries carrying soldiers, but in spite of this, when they reached the spot of the former outrage, well armed bandits, who were looting a convoy of 15 carts, resolutely attacked them.

After a severe fight the bandits fled into the mountains after killing a cart-driver and wounding two other Chinese.

M. Cadet has again safely reached Lungchow.—Reuter.

RULE BY THE UNFIT

Canton, Nov. 2.

Merchants in Canton are opposing the procedure of the Anti-British Boycott Extension Committee in

sending ignorant labourers into business firms to inspect and label so-called British goods. Many consignments of American, German, and Japanese goods have been labelled by the pickets as British, owing to the fact that the labels on the cases were printed in English.

Some of the unemployed workers in Canton are asking the Strike Committee to advise the Chinese in Hongkong and the Southern Capital not to ship goods through British vessels plying between the two ports or to travel in them.

CHEN'S MANDATE IGNORED

Peking, Nov. 4.

The Lightermen's Union of Canton have decided to refuse to load or unload British goods after November 8.—Reuter.

NEW ANTI-BRITISH ORGANS

Hongkong, Nov. 8.

The situation at Canton is becoming increasingly difficult. Recently three new organizations have sprung into being, these being the Economic Severance Committee, which is agitating for no trading in British merchandise; the Cargo Transportation Guild, which is proclaiming a boycott against British steamers; and the Foreign Treaties Abolition Society, which is clamouring for non-renewal of lapsing Treaties and refusal to negotiate regarding them.—Reuter.

SWATOW GETS REDDER

Swatow, Nov. 12.

Since I wrote a few days ago things seem to have taken a distinct turn for the worse towards a revival of the boycott. The intimidation which is being freely used is having its effect; the channels for the import and distribution of British cargoes and goods, which were beginning to open, are being effectively stopped; and unless something is done to check the intimidators, things will very soon be back again to the condition of the old bad days.

The new body which has constituted itself the dictator of the port has decreed that all goods lying in British godowns must be cleared out before the 15th, otherwise the owners of them will be "regarded as strike-breakers," and that after the 10th there shall be no dealing in goods imported on British steamers; also that there shall be an investigation into the British goods in stock in the shops—whatever that may mean.

What it probably does mean is squeeze; and indeed that is probably what the whole thing means; for it has been not obscurely hinted that if the British firms are willing to pay enough blackmail they will be left in peace. It is a question now of the good faith of the Canton Government in carrying out its undertaking, and we hope to have some proof of it very soon. If not, it will be a mere travesty of the facts to say that the boycott has been called off; and they will be convicted either of a huge swindle, or of being

impotent to carry out their pledges because they are not masters in their own house. They can take their choice which they will admit.

The port is on holiday to-day in honour of the birthday of Sun Wen, a new addition this year to the already swollen list of anniversaries that have to be observed where the "blue heaven white sun" flag flies.

CANTON BOYCOTT GOES ON

Evidence would appear to be accumulating that special efforts are being made to intensify the anti-British boycott, says the "Hongkong Telegraph" of November 9. Yesterday we reported on the activities of various bodies in this direction, and the experience of a local British firm yesterday is indicative of the efforts which are being made in certain quarters to discriminate against British cargo.

TROUBLE EXPECTED IN HANKOW

Peking, Nov. 23.

The Legations are advised from Hankow that a general strike, a replica of the former situation in Canton, is imminent.

Consequently trouble is anticipated and extra gunboats will probably winter there.

MERCHANT MARINE COLLAPSE

Shanghai, Dec. 11.

At a meeting on Sunday, the majority of shareholders in the China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company, Ltd., China's leading shipping firm, passed a resolution favouring the proposal of the directors of the company to suspend all services (coast and Yangtze) pending the return of its steamers which either have been seized by the militarists or by the Seamen's Union.

It is estimated, as a result of the suspension, that no fewer than 3,000 hands will be affected afloat

and some 6,000 more ashore. The former are distributed among the company's 28 steamers, and include about 180 foreign officers and engineers, apart from the seamen and compradore's employees. The company's services include Canton and Hongkong, Swatow, Wenchow, Foochow, Ningpo, Tientsin and Chefoo, as well as the lower and upper Yangtze lines.

In Canton and Swatow, some agitators had lodged a ridiculous demand that the seized vessels should be worked by the seamen and that the latter should reap for themselves the benefits derived from the business. In other words, they proposed that there should be a Soviet system. These proposals had nothing to do with the Canton Government, who are doing their best to deal effectively with the situation. Police have been detailed to protect the steamers and the company's properties.

In this connexion it is interesting to note that the efforts of the Seamen's Union to call a general strike of employees of foreign-owned vessels has utterly failed and, from inquiries, it is learned beyond all doubt that the men are quite satisfied with their present treatment and will not listen to mischief-makers and agitators.

LABOUR TYRANNY IN CANTON

Canton, Dec. 22.

The union pickets in Canton, armed workers employed to enforce demands and intimidate employers, and the workers' volunteer defence corps (a military organization supplementary to the local police and military) have all been instructed by the Workers' Delegate Conference, acting under the auspices of the Communist Party, to remain indoors for the present, pending readjustment of their standing in the Southern Capital.

Since the workers gave their aid to the Kuomintang in regaining party power in the middle of 1925, the labour unions have become practically an imperium in imperio, and professional labour leaders arrogate to themselves the right to arrest and punish not only their comrades but also outsiders, non-

union workers and employers of labour.

Notwithstanding the activities of the anti-British Boycott Extension Society in Canton, it is estimated that most of the firms that deal in foreign goods hold 40 per cent. or more British goods. The failure of the larger shops to lay in a full stock for the year-end business has been due to the unsettled conditions brought about by labour tyranny in general, and not to a desire to shut off any particular make of goods.

The anti-British boycott society has received from the Strike Committee a number of cases containing goods seized during the boycott but not disposed of at the time of the restoration of Canton-Hongkong traffic, and the society is having them cleared as fast as it can. Last week-end still saw some 280 cases left unclaimed. Owners able to prove that their goods are not of British origin may withdraw them.

Kuomintang Ministry of Finance is still issuing an order for \$10,000 daily to the Strike Committee in Canton for the support of unemployed workers.

GOVERNMENT SURRENDERS

Canton, Dec. 31.

The Kuomintang at Canton, failing to enforce its decision to permit consignees to have cargo on board the steamers of the China Merchants' Steam Navigation Co. unloaded, has allowed the matter to be taken out of its hands.

Applications by consignees for permission to unload cargo will now be considered by a special commission. This commission is to consist of representatives of the Kuomintang, the cargo owners and the Chinese Seamen's Union, the members of which union have seized the vessels involved at Canton.—Reuter.

WAR AGAINST WOMEN

Hongkong, Jan. 26.

The Italian Sisters of Charity of the Cannosian Order have been recalled to Hongkong from the Swabue, Nantao and Waichow districts in Kuangtung.—Reuter.

FARMERS' ARMY NEAR HONGKONG

Canton, Feb. 14.

Through His Majesty's Consul-General at Canton the Governor of Hongkong has strongly protested to the Cantonese Government against Chinese soldiers organizing a Farmers' Army at Shataukok on the British border.

The farmers have been incited to strong anti-British feeling.

With a view to restoring confidence the Governor has ordered detachments of the King's Own Scottish Borderers to route march periodically along the British boundary.—Reuter.



GUNMEN USED BY LABOUR AGITATORS TO FORCE PEACEFUL WORKERS TO STRIKE.

Fleeing from the "Nationalist" Butchers of Nanking

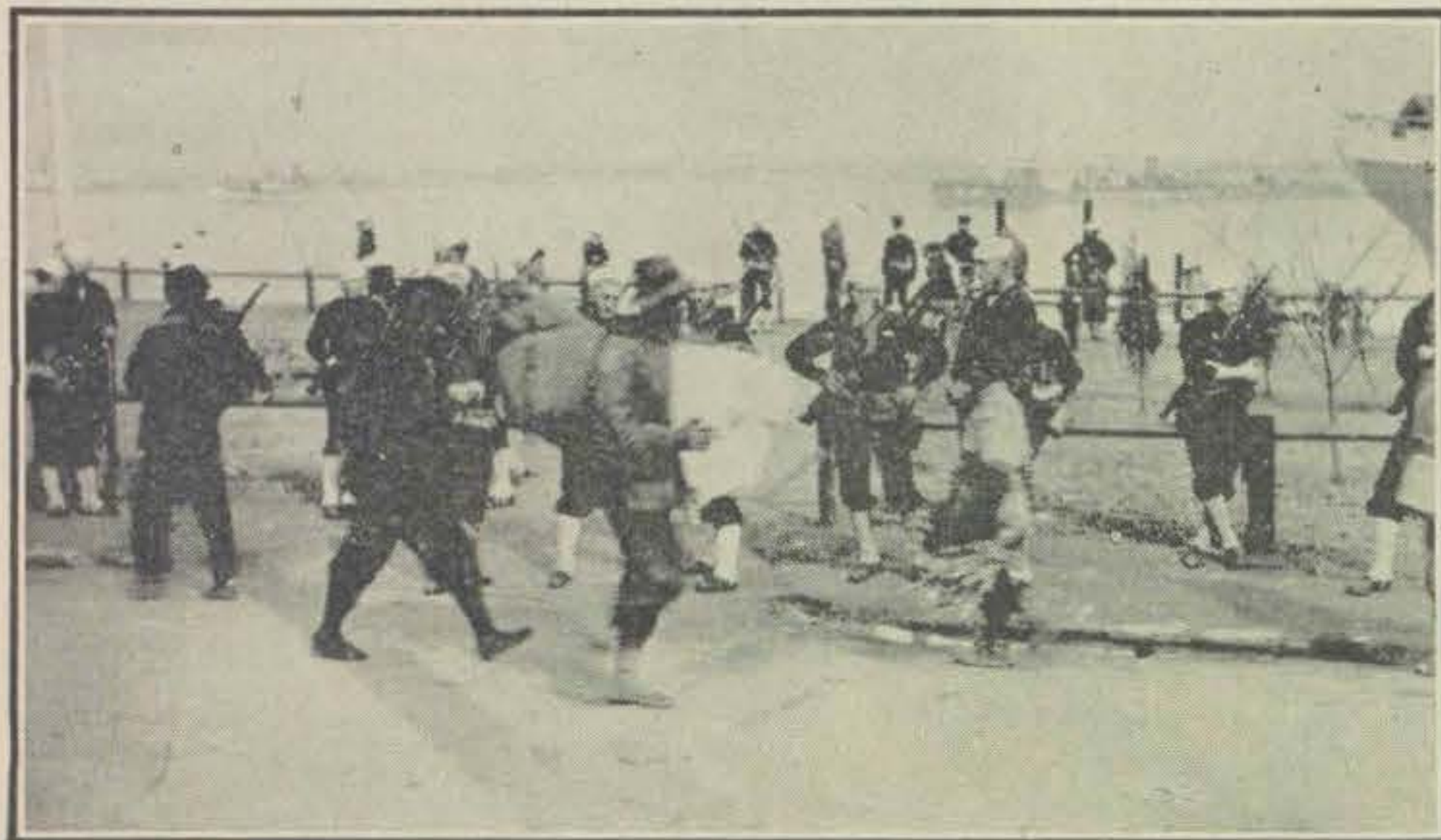
Photos by Ariel L. Vargas, Far Eastern Correspondent for the International Newsreel Corp., of New York.



NORTHERN SOLDIERS ON THE RUN FROM NANKING



TAKING REFUGE FROM THE "NATIONALIST" HOLOCAUST



UNCLE SAM'S BLUEJACKETS FIND A JOB TO THEIR LIKING



CHINESE LEFT TO THE MERCY OF THE SOUTHERN TROOPS

"Nationalism" Reveals Itself at Nanking

Foreigners Murdered and Houses Looted by Chang Kai-shek's Rabble

"Nationalism" and all it stands for has been revealed in its true light at Nanking, where the Southern soldiers in their advance ran amok at the end of March, killing several foreigners, injuring many others, including the British Consul, and looting foreign property. Attempts have been made to show that this outrage was not the work of Southern troops, but the evidence from all sides is unimpeachable. Below we give a few details available as we go to press:—

Shanghai, March 27.

All reports concur that the Southern troops in Nanking ran amok like wild animals, shooting at foreigners and looting their houses everywhere.

Dr. Williams, of Nanking University, Dr. Satchwell Smith (British), Mr. Huber, the Harbour Master, and two Catholic Fathers were murdered. Others were badly wounded. With great difficulty most refugees have been got off but there are still many in the city. Mr. Giles, the British Consul, is safe in the Emerald, but badly wounded.

The foreign naval authorities have sent an ultimatum to the Cantonese General, who appears to have refused. It is understood that Rear-Admiral Hough is at Nanking.

Very grave reports are to hand of the danger of foreigners at Hankow, Wuhu and Chinkiang.

The following is a wireless message received in Shanghai last night:—

"Those American missionaries who were cooped up in Nanking University, numbering in all 120, began to arrive from the city, and the first were visible from the deck at 7 p.m. There is no military escort along. Among them is a Miss Moffat, who was shot twice through the body."

Peking, March 25.

Owing to Mr. Bertram Giles being wounded and the Vice-Consul, Mr. K. W. Tribe, being absent at Wuhu, the British have received no official reports from Nanking. Nor have the Japanese received late reports.

According to other official messages, when the Cantonese captured Nanking on March 24 they immediately started looting and there was marked anti-foreign feeling.

The British Consulate was one of the first places to be attacked and Mr. Giles was seriously wounded. Under the protection of a small American guard foreigners were concentrated on Socony Hill, close to the North wall of the city.

The Cantonese then began to shell the hill and the American and British warships replied, attempting to silence the Cantonese guns and to clear the area round the hill in order to permit the foreigners to evacuate.

At 5 p.m. yesterday H. M. S. Emerald sent a landing party ashore, while the U.S.S. Preston and Noa, with shrapnel, cleared the Bund and foreshore. The Cantonese replied, frequently hitting the American warships.

The landing party successfully brought the foreigners from Socony Hill, but meanwhile the Consulates and practically all other foreign premises were looted.

Officially it is feared that many American civilians have been killed. Last evening the foreign naval authorities made three demands:—

The immediate protection of all foreign life and property in Nanking;

The Cantonese general to report aboard the Emerald before 11 p.m. that night to negotiate regarding the outrages; and

All surviving foreigners to be brought to the river under proper escort before 10 a.m. this morning.

It added that if the demands were not complied with Nanking would be treated as a military area.

A message from Nanking at 4 o'clock this morning states that the negotiations to secure the relief of survivors have broken down.—*Reuter.*

Foreign Victims of Fury

Shanghai, March 27.

Terrible rumours were persistent in Shanghai yesterday regarding the fate of the foreigners remaining in Nanking with whom no form of contact could be established by foreign gun-boats in the river. Dr. J. E. Williams, vice-president of the University of Nanking, is known to have been killed, murdered in cold blood.

According to reliable information, about 15 British subjects were reported as unaccounted for early in the day. Among these were the British Consul-General, Mr. B. Giles, and consular party, along with Captain Spear, attached to the Army Intelligence staff of the Shanghai Defence Force. The consular party was later reported to have been rescued and safe in H.M.S. Emerald, though the extent of injuries to this group, of whom Mr. Giles is known to be badly wounded, could not be verified.

The name of Captain Spear did not appear in the message, but it is hoped that as he had previously been in the company of the Consul-General he is also safe on the man-of-war.

A later message reported Captain Spear to be safe, but wounded. The message adds that Americans were all later accounted for.

A message received last night stated that all the Consulates in Nanking had been looted.

Japanese Major Wounded

The Japanese Consul, who was ill in bed at the time of the attack, and who was first reported killed, was found to be alive, according to later reports. Major Naimoto, who was in charge of the Japanese Consulate, was shot in the abdomen and bayoneted so seriously that he is not expected to live. The Japanese chief of police at the Consulate was shot in the arm and is stated to be in a very serious condition.

Before evacuation could be effected by the 50 men comprising the Japanese landing party from three destroyers, Japanese women were in the greatest danger at the hands of the mob. Reports of looting at all the Consulates have been general, and the Japanese declare that the only things remaining intact in their Consular buildings are a picture of the Emperor and the

cipher code used for official communications.

Refugees on Way to Shanghai

The I. C. S. Kungwo left Nanking at 3 a.m. yesterday filled with British and American refugees, Americans among this number being 19 men, 87 women and 52 children, the exact number of British being unascertainable. The Kungwo is due to arrive this morning. She was escorted down-river by U. S. S. Preston. The str. Wenchow escorted by H. M. S. Cricket is also on her way down filled with British and Americans and a stop will be made at Chinkiang to pick up other refugees. A report yesterday indicated also that 250 American missionary refugees from Hankow are arriving within a few days on the str. Suiwo.

General Chiang Kai-shek left Wuhu at 8.50 a.m. yesterday in a Chinese gun-boat, proceeding down-river to Nanking, and was expected to arrive there about noon.

Southern troops have been out of hand since the moment of their arrival, and whether or not the carnage can be checked remains a matter for surmise.

At Chinkiang, following a demonstration on Thursday, several foreign houses and the greater part of the Chinese section inside the Concession were looted. Among the foreigners known to be there are 20 American missionaries who sought refuge in the Socony and A. P. C. Installations, whither it is believed all foreigners have gone until evacuation can be carried out *via* steamers coming down river from Nanking.

All Americans have been ordered out of Ningpo as well as Yangtze River ports, it was reliably stated yesterday.

No women are allowed to go to Hankow, and the condition of affairs at Wuhu is reported very bad.

LATEST DETAILS

Shanghai, April 1.

That the Southern authorities in Nanking are apparently making no attempt to clear up the situation there is made quite evident from yesterday's reports, which state that no official intercourse has yet taken place in Nanking due to the non-appearance of Southern officials on board H.M.S. Emerald.

Nor is it possible for the few remaining British men in the Emerald to go on shore, as personal danger attaches to any such attempt. A Chinese messenger was sent to the International Export Company on Wednesday from the Emerald, and returned in a badly battered condition showing that he had been beaten. He brought a message that any British who attempted to land would be prevented from doing so. This messenger also reported looting of one of the big general stores catering to foreigners in Nanking on the night of March 29. The value of goods lost by this firm alone was estimated as

\$125,000, and this represents only one such incident, of which there are known to be others.

A Horrid Crime

Another example of anti-foreignism plainly shown by the Nationalists in Nanking despite protestations was given yesterday by a local missionary who declared that word had been received here about the death of Mr. Ai Ming Chen, shot by the Nationalists as a result of his having offered ransom for the foreign friends, who, it is understood were being held prisoners, during the Nanking incident, before all could reach the safety of the gunboats. Mr. Chen was a well known and wealthy engineer in Nanking with Presbyterian affiliations. It is also reported that his son is seriously injured although it is uncertain whence these injuries originated.

Looting continues at the British Consulate according to the latest information, and a report from a foreign member of a commercial firm in Nanking who managed to get into the hulk of his firm during the last few days to take a look around says that a very thorough job of looting had been done there. All personal luggage which had been put into the hulk for safety had been entirely looted, and all office papers were found in a torn and dirty mess on the floors. The safes had been tampered with, but could not be opened, fortunately, although the foreign investigators themselves were unable to open them when the hasty survey was made.

How Mr. Huber Met His Death

When Dr. Satchwell Smith was shot on the lawn of the British Consulate at 10.5 a.m. on Thursday, March 24, Mr. Huber, the Harbour Master, was in his house, just behind the Consular Office, and connected to it by a passage and side-door.

Mr. Huber had decided not to obey the concentration order sent out at 6 p.m. on Wednesday but to remain in his house.

In case of anything happening to him, he opened a log, which ran as follows:—

Wednesday, March 23:—

7 p.m. Order issued for everyone to concentrate at the Consulate.

Am convinced that the only way to protect the Customs property (i.e., Outdoor Staff Quarters and Club, adjoining his house—Author's note) is to remain in my house. I shall go on rounds every two hours through the night.

9 p.m. First round. Everything quiet. Watchmen present at Club gates.

11 p.m. Quiet, save for occasional shots. Watchmen gone.

12 p.m. All quiet; round done in company of three other foreigners. Watchmen returned. Chief Examiner sleeping in his own house.

This was the last entry seen. Mr. Huber was spoken to at nine o'clock on Thursday morning, and

stated that he had made two more rounds during the night at two and four a.m.

At the Consulate

At 10.5 a.m. on Thursday morning, firing broke out at the Consulate, Dr. Smith being killed and the Consul-General and Captain Spear being wounded in going to the assistance of Dr. Smith.

On hearing the firing, and knowing that there were still some women at the British Consulate, Mr. Huber rushed round through the passage and entered the Consulate Office compound, unarmed.

Two Southern soldiers threw themselves on him, but he dragged them along with him.

Entering the office, he tripped over the steps. They all fell in a heap. One of the soldiers got up, drew his revolver and fired several times into Mr. Huber's body, killing him instantly.

Several other Southerners came in and, seeing the body, also fired at it. It is desired to emphasize that so far as can be ascertained Mr. Huber was the only man killed while resisting. All the others

were first captured and then murdered.

The author is prepared to swear that all the murders and looting done round and about the British Consulate between 10 a.m. and three p.m. on Thursday were the work of soldiers in uniform of the Southern Army. The behaviour of the retreating Northerners was splendid. As to those Northerners who were disarmed by the Cantonese nothing very much was seen of them. They were mostly killed together in groups. By Southerners is meant soldiers in the uniform

of the Southern army, not Cantonese only, of whom the author saw none to his knowledge.

In the whole of Nanking it was impossible to find two more popular men than Dr. Smith and Mr. Huber. Dr. Smith had been there for a number of years and was equally loved by Chinese and foreigners alike. He was murdered without one single reason, since he had already been robbed. Mr. Huber, an old soldier, had been all through the Shameen trouble and knew the risk he was running. He died in the best traditions of the service.

The Foreign Defence Forces of Shanghai

Events Justify to the Hilt the Despatch and Landing of Foreign Troops and Marines

Shanghai, March 27.

The occupation of this place by the "Nationalist" irregulars during the past few days and their career of robbery, arson and murder in the Chinese city and the great native suburbs that are grouped around the International Settlement and the French Concession, have made it clear to even the most prejudiced champions of China's "sovereign rights" that without the large British force that has been brought here to defend the lives and property of all nationalities, and the support of American, French, Dutch, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese and Japanese units, the local forces of defence could not have maintained order. There would have been no little loss of both Chinese and foreign lives at the hands of armed civilian communists, enormous destruction of property through looting and incendiary mob action, while the surviving residents would have been terrorized and humiliated by a truculent horde of "nationalist" coolies, recruited from the lowest strata of Chinese society. The Chinese would, as usual, have been the heavy losers, but since the evacuation of 30,000 foreigners is almost a physical impossibility, and would have entailed the abandonment of property of enormous value to the savagery of the riff-raff had it been carried out, the presence of an efficient international force has undoubtedly prevented an event that would have disgraced China eternally in the sight of the civilized world. When it is remembered that the International Settlement covers an area of 5,584 acres and the French Concession an area of nearly 2,500 acres, it will be understood that a force of a few thousand police and volunteers was wholly inadequate either to maintain a line of defence on the boundary or to keep order in the streets against the thousands of uniformed students, workmen and professional ruffians and criminals, secretly armed and openly inflamed by Red propaganda against the foreigner. Appreciation of these points has been made clear in a telegram of thanks to the British Government, signed by the citizens or subjects of 27 nationalities, so there is perhaps no need to stress them.

The collapse of the defence of the Shanghai area by the Shantung (northern) troops, in an atmosphere of treachery, conspiracy and demoralization, was not wholly unexpected, but came, nevertheless, as a distinct shock to all believers in Northern military efficiency. Evacuation on a big scale from points on the Shantung-Hang-how Railway commenced on Sunday, March 20, with little or no military action to warrant it. Shanghai's communication with Nanking were cut during the day by the Southern seizure of Changchow, a force having come through the mountains to the West of Tai Hu Lake from Chekiang. Reports of intensified anti-foreign feeling in Hankow, where the movement took an anti-Japanese turn and two foreign newspapers were ordered to suspend publication, helped to create a feeling of nervous suspense in Shanghai.

On Monday, March 21, serious trouble broke out in all the suburbs of Shanghai. A southern force crossed the Whangpoo River in the vicinity of Minghong, at points ten to twelve miles from Shanghai, came down the right bank of the river and seized positions immediately opposite the Kiangnan Arsenal and barracks, at Lunghua, within rifle shot of the French Concession. This was the signal for the rising of all the Red plain clothes squads in the Arsenal area, Chapei, Nantao and other suburbs. Large bodies of Shantung soldiers, left behind in the general evacuation and deserted by their cowardly officers, were the object of guerilla attack. White Russian mercenaries on an armoured train were cut off from retreat by the tearing up of rails and either deserted into the Settlement or created havoc with machine-gun and three-inch-gun fire at any and every target. General Pi Shou-chen, in command of the local Shantung garrison, fled to a foreign hotel and sent his men Red Kuomintang flags for their protection. Russians attempting to enter the Settlement were beheaded as deserters by the panicky Shantung men. The little armies of armed riff-raff without uniforms, who had been concealed in the

suburbs, did a lot of indiscriminate killing and then, towards nightfall, settled down to a campaign of systematic arson in Chapei, setting light to some 1,500 houses of inoffensive Chinese and foreign residents and making it thorough with a liberal use of kerosene. A Roman Catholic orphanage, the Holy Family Institution, was in the heart of the shelled and burnt district. The chapel was destroyed.

Indiscriminate rifle and shell fire upset the peace of the Settlement and the French Concession throughout Tuesday, March 22. The boundaries were guarded by 7,100 British troops, 4,000 Indian troops, 1,630 Japanese marines and sailors, 1,434 American marines, 100-120 Dutch sailors and marines, 200 Italian sailors and marines, 100 Spanish sailors and marines, 90 Portuguese, 1,200 Volunteers of all nationalities, and, in the French Concession, a generous body of Volunteers, police, marines and Annamite troops. Nearly 20,000 men were on duty and they were not too many, since the menace did not come from armed and uniformed forces, but from irregulars in plain clothes and from a great force of well-placed snipers. On Tuesday afternoon the morale of the Shantung troops in Chapei collapsed and they broke into the Settlement through unguarded alleyways, shooting wildly as they came. Something like 1,000 men arrived on Range Road at about 4.45 p.m. The British troops, Durhams, had orders not to fire until they were attacked. The bewildered Shantung soldiery, in their panic, provided abundant provocation and were shot down in some numbers before they gave up their idea of storming the Concession and indulging in an orgy of looting. Shells and stray bullets fell in the Concession all Tuesday afternoon and did no little damage. As is usual in such situations, the number of miraculous escapes exceeded the number of catastrophes. Armed rioters took possession of the mill district on the East bank of the Whangpoo River—the Pootung factories—and created disturbances, through systematic sabotage, which forced the intervention of British Naval units. One hundred and fifty

thousand persons were on strike, largely through intimidation. The Chinese Post Office ceased functioning, although bound by international agreement, incidental to the withdrawal of the foreign post-offices in 1922, to keep up a service. A southern General, Pei Chung-hsi, arrived during the day at Lunghua and, being an adherent of General Chiang Kai-shek and therefore hostile to the Communist extremists, attempted to restore order. Shooting in Chapei was stopped, after the foreign troops in the Settlement had allowed bodies of uniformed men to pass through their lines into the thick of the anarchic welter, and it was later reported that communist rioters were not only being arrested but were being executed by the "nationalist" troops.

More Communist trouble makers were seized and shot on Wednesday, March 23, and a deputation of foreign Consuls, the Customs Commissioner and the head of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Fu Siao-en, were invited to call on the southern commander at Lunghua, General Pei Chung-hsi. Rioting in Pootung continued, but was gradually suppressed. Fighting broke out at Woosung, where the Whangpoo river opens into the Yangtze, between southerners and Shantung remnants. A meeting of more than 50,000 Chinese was called in Chapei and was addressed by communist agitators, who voiced their usual anti-foreign sentiments. News of the capture of Nanking by the "nationalist" forces, of the deliberate attempt to exterminate all foreigners, of the timely action of British and American destroyers, reached Shanghai on the evening of Wednesday, March 24.

Shanghai was quiet on March 25, except for sporadic outbreaks of plain clothes assassins and the periodic execution of these gentry by the southern military. The foreign defenders of the Settlement and the French Concession had the situation completely in hand and there was every indication that the southern military forces were displaying a strong anti-communist tendency and were suppressing, as well as they were able, all hostile demonstrations against foreign armed forces.

China's Chaos as Revealed in Newspaper Headlines

COOLIES DRAG CONSUL THROUGH STREETS

Indignities Suffered by Belgium's Representative at Hankow

SISTERS TAKEN BY PIRATES

Terrifying Experience of Catholic Missionaries: Vessel Twice Pirated

APPALLING BANDIT ATROCITIES

Ghastly Stories Cause Suchien to Welcome even Soldiers: Raids by Daylight

Suchien, Ku., Jan. 25.

KUEICHOW BRIGAND REVIVAL

Monetary Difficulties: Paper Refused by Banks: Will the Cash Come Back?

Kueiyang, Kueichow, Jan. 8.

ICHANG COMPLETELY LOOTED

Foreign Property Untouched But Business Suspended at Chengteh

Hankow, Dec. 21.

MURDER IN POOTUNG

Workers Seized and Shot by Communists

BANDITS ACTIVE IN ANHUI

Border City Sacked: Chowkiakow Repeated on a Minor Scale

Chengyangkuan, An., Dec. 30.

ROBBING AND LOOTING AT WUHU

Military Run Amok: Appeal for Help to Nanking

Wuhu, Jan. 4.

TAICHOW FEARFUL OF THE FUTURE

Bandits and Defeated Troops Suppressed, but Reds Still a Menace to Peace

Taichow, Chê., Jan. 31.

BRITISH STEAMER PIRATED

Seized on Her Way to Hongkong and Taken to Bias Bay

Hongkong, Mar. 21.

STREET FIGHTING IN CHENG TU

Chêngtu, Nov. 15.

BANDIT OUTRAGE AT KUCHENG

Missionary Captured But Later Released

Foochow, Dec. 6.

SOLDIERS LOOT SHOPS ON CHINESE BUND

Rounded Up by Local Military Authorities

A FAMINE RELIEF FIASCO

Barefaced Robbery of Funds by Chungking Militarists: \$10,000 to Yang Sen

Chungking, Dec. 2.

MILITARY BURDENS ON HONAN

Same Tax Paid Nine Times in One Year: Business Hopeless: Huaijing, Hon., Feb. 2.

A SMALL LOAN WANTED

Kidnapping Gang's Ironical Letter to a Wealthy Chinese Merchant

ALL CHINA IN GRIP OF WAR

Revolts in Cantonese Army: Marshal Wu Pei-fu's Troubles: The Conflict of North and South

Hankow, Jan. 12.

FRENCH CONSUL KILLED IN KUANGSI

Dastardly Murder of Official in Southern Province While Motoring: The Corpse Recovered: Others' Fortunate Escape and Safe Arrival in Lungchow

Peking, Nov. 2.

AMERICAN CONSUL'S SWIM

Pickets' Outrage on Mr. Chamberlain at Swatow: Threatened With Revolvers and Ignominiously Sent Away from Bathing Beach

TAICHOW'S UNHAPPY CHRISTMAS

Nervous Tension as City Waits Arrival of Defeated Troops: Village Feuds

Taichow, Chê., Dec. 30.

BANDIT RAID ON LIGHTHOUSE

Keeper Tortured by Stabbing to Disclose Savings

ANHUI IN TERROR OF BANDITS

Shocking Condition of the People: Starvation Now and Worse to Follow

Pochow, An. Nov. 20.

PIRACY IN THE LIANG KUANG

Serious Interference with Foreign Import and Chinese Export Trade

Hongkong, Feb. 8.

COLD AND BANDITS IN N. KIANGSU

Soldiers Sent South and Coast Clear for Brigandage: Hard Times Indeed

Suchien, N. Ku., Dec. 21.

THE MILITARY AT HUANGYEN

Cheerful Habit of Lifting What They Require from Food to Women

Huangyen, Che., Jan. 5.

ANOTHER DARING PIRACY

Amazing Attack by Four Men: Cook as Pirate Chief

"PACK AND PRAY" KIATING'S ORDER

West China Disturbed by Rumours, but Otherwise Quiet: Worst Yet to Come

ANOTHER AFFRONT TO FRANCE

Attack on Frenchman Returning from Funeral of Consul Killed by Bandits

Peking, Nov. 8.

PAKHOI AND THE BOYCOTT

Cost of Goods Greatly Increased: Use of British Property As Public Resort

TURN FOR WORSE AT SWATOW

Intimidation Revived to Stop Trade: Squeeze the Object

The Real Cause of China's Troubles

"It is a primal instinct of human nature to attempt to blame someone else for one's misfortunes or shortcomings. I submit that any student of conditions in China to-day must conclude that the present troubles of the Chinese people are internal and not external, and that the anti-foreign and anti-Christian feeling now obtaining in some parts of China is the result of persistent agitation and propaganda intended to excite the Chinese people into a state of frenzy and unrest.

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"Anyone who has investigated conditions in China to-day must conclude that extraterritoriality, unequal treaties, imperialism and the other slogans to which I have referred have nothing to do with China's troubles. These catchwords are being overworked by the agitators, many of whom are bolshevists, the politicians and the militarists to conceal from the long-suffering, patient and industrious people of China the pathetic fact that they are being impoverished and enslaved to the ambition of the warlords for greed and aggrandizement.

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"One of the big world problems of to-day is what can be done to help rescue the Chinese people from the enslavement of the warlords and to bring order out of the existing chaos. He who could prescribe a panacea for all the ills from which China now suffers would be the greatest pathologist the world has ever seen. I can write no prescription. In the solution of this problem as in that of any other difficult question, we must commence with a knowledge of the facts and not rely upon false premises, if we hope to arrive at an accurate conclusion.

SILAS H. STRAWN

American Delegate Plenipotentiary to
the Tariff Revision Conference and
Member of the Extraterritoriality
Commission at Peking, 1925-26.